

JOVIAN.
OR, AN
ANSWER
TO
JULIAN
THE
APOSTATE.

B Y
A Minister of LONDON.

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LOVIAN

OF

ANSWER

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THE P R E F A C E

THere are many Remarkable Particulars in the Life of *Jovian² Aug.* and so very disagreeable to the chief Assertions, which I have found in Julian the Apostate, that I have been Invited by them to call this Answer to that Book by his August Name.

For first, He was chosen Emperor next after Julian, although he was nothing Akin to him, while (a) Procopius, a Great Man, and one of the Blood was Alive, in the Way, and at the Head of a Great Army; which shews, that the Roman Empire was not Hereditary, as the Author of Julian hath with great Confidence asserted in his 2d. Chapter. He also left behind him a little

(a) P. 74, 75, 76.

The Preface.

(b) Amm. Marcell.
l. 25. c. 10.

Zonar. T. 3.
Eutrop. l. 10. In fine.

Son called (b) Varronianus, whom he had made Consul with himself a little before his death, and the Empire, had it been Hereditary, must have descended upon him without Choice; but after a short Interregnum, which is

(c) Cook in Calvins
Case.

(c) inconsistent with a Lineal Succession, the Army unanimously chose Valentinian, without taking notice of young Varronianus, who yet, was as fit for the Empire, as Valentinian Junior the Son of Valentinian,

(d) Amm. Marc. l. 30.
c. 10. Zonar. Tom. 3. Zofim. hist. l. 4. Aurel. vict. Epit.

(d) whom the Souldiers chose Emperor after his Fathers death being but 4 years old, and afterwards saluted him Augustus, while he was carried in his Cradle about the Camp.

(e) Socrat. Hist. Ecc.
l. 3. c. 22. Theodoret
Hist. Ecc. l. 4. c. 1.

But secondly, Jovian was a (e) Confessor of the Christian Religion in the Reign of Julian, who chose rather to quit his Preferments, than to Sacrifice, as Valens,

The Preface.

lens, Valentinian, and other Great Captains likewise did, quietly, and peaceably behaving themselves, while Julian did so outrage the Church; which shews, that either he did not Illegally Persecute his Christian Subjects (as Mr. J. saith he did) or else, that they thought it their Duty, as Christians, quietly to submit even to an Apostate Emperor, when he persecuted contrary to Law.

Thirdly, Though he was so Zealous and Orthodox a (f) Christian, and so great a Blessing to the Church, yet, as I have (g) shewn, he was worse treated by the Antiochians, than Julian himself, which proves, that it was the evil Humour of that People to abuse every one, who did displease them, which the Apostate did by his Morose Philosophical Humour, and by setting too low a Price upon the Market-Provisions; upon which account purely, and not upon the score of Religion (as Mr. J. would make us believe) it was

(f) Theodor. l. 4. c. 1,
2. Socrat. l. 3. c. 24. So-
zom. l. 6. c. 3, 4.
(g) P. 103.

The Preface.

that they Lamped, and Burlesqued him, as I have shewn at large in the 3d. Chapter.

A.

Fourthly, When Jovian was Elected Emperor by the Souldiers of Julian, (g) they cryed

(h) P. 171.

out with one common Voice, That they were all Christians; which shews how absurd it is to ascribe their Passive Behaviour under the Apostate to want of Strength, and Numbers, as our Author hath done more like a Jesuit, than a Protestant Writer, against the consent of so many Pious, and learned Protestants, who have commended unto us the Christian Subjects of Julian as most perfect Examples of Passive Obedience, for practising the Doctrine of Non-resistance, when they were so much tempted, and so able to

(i) In his Book of resist. To this purpose (i) Christian Subjection, saith Bishop Bilson: The part 3. p. 123. printed at London 1586. Christian Souldiers un-

der Julian, as St. Augustine saith, served their Temporal Lord, though an Idolater and

The Preface:

and Apostate, not for lack of Force to resist, but for respect of their Everlasting Lord in Heaven: Otherwise the Christian Souldiers had Julian in his Voyage against the Persians, far from Home, and from Help, and might have done with him what they would; and yet they chose rather to spend their Lives for him, than to lift up their hands against him; and the Christian World stirred not in his absence against him, but with patience endured his Oppression, and with silence expected his Return. *The same Observation is made more at large by the Learned Dr. Hakewell in his* (k) *Scutum Regium, to whose words in the Margent I refer the Reader; as likewise by that*

so exercitu tantus numerus, ut cum post Juliani mortem Jovianus Christianus ad Imperium raptus Imperare recusasset, milites penes omnes acri voce velut ex composito se quoque Christum colere acclamarent. Num ductoribus vobis opus est habetis Jovianum, Valentinianum, Valerium, Artemium—

(k) L. 3. c. 3. Num vobis vires defunt? At teste Sozomemo l. 5. c. 14. Tanta erat eorum multitudo, ut magistratus cujusque civitatis agere eorum calculum subducere & in tabulas referre potuerint, & in ip-

The Preface.

(1) Ita sub Juliano, licet impio Apostata, merebant Christiani milites, nec quisquam illi vim fecit, quo nihil fuit facilius, cum ferè totum exercitum ex Christianis constituisse in ejus morte apparuerit. p. 53.

Prodigy of Learning (1) Sam. Bochart, who in his *Epistle to Dr. Morley* saith, That the Christian Souldiers served under Julian though an Im-

pious Apostate; neither did any of them offer Violence unto him, which had been very easie for them to do, seeing it did appear after his death at the Election of Jovian, that almost the whole Army were Christians.

I have added these Authorities, under this last Particular, which invited me to call this Book Jovian, because I forgot them, while I was writing the 8th Chapter, as indeed I found upon a Review, that I have omitted some other material Observations, which I beg leave of the Readers Patience here to supply.

(m) P. 61.

First then, whereas I have (m) asserted, That there was no such thing as Entail, nor any Notion of it among the Romans, I think

it

Entail

The Preface.

(1) *it necessary here to add, That this limited way of Hereditary Succession unto one Line is grounded wholly upon the (n) Feudal Laws, which had nothing common at all with the old Roman or Civil Laws, but were received from the Customs of the Barbarous Nations, which invaded the Empire, and after settled in it; and particularly of the Germans, from whom the Italians, and the French received them, and we from the Normans at the Conquest. Hence, according to Littleton, and (o) Cook upon him, Entailing is derived from the French word tailler scindere, and feodum talliatum, or an Estate entailed is according to them, Hæreditas in quandam certitudinem limitata; or plainer, as in (p) Spelman, Feodum talliatum est, quod ita talliatur, hoc est amputatur & rescinditur, ut ad nullos transeat hæredes, nisi a corpore certæ*

(n) Molinæ. ad Con-
suet. par. tit. des Fiefs.
n. 5.

Feudal laws

(o) L. 1. c. 2, 9, 13, 18.

*Entailing
unde,*

(p) Gloss. v. Feodum.

The Preface.

certæ alicujus personæ emanantes, &c.
 Now this way of entailing Estates and of limited and lineal Succession unto them was never in practise among the Romans, nor had they any Notion of it, while the Empire was purely Roman, every man being left at his liberty by the Civil Law to sell the Inheritance of his Ancestors, or any part of it, or to divide it among his Children by his last Will and Testament in what Proportions he thought fit; nay, to pass by, or disinherit any, or all of his Children under the pretence of Ingratitude, till Justinian the Emperor out of favour to the next akin, reduced the pretended Reasons of Ingratitude to 14. which the Reader may consult. Novel. 11. c. 3.

Wherefore there being so great a Distance between the Laws and Customs of the Romans, as to Hereditary Succession, and the Laws, and Customs relating to Tenures, which we derive from the

(q) See the Custom of Normandy.

(q) Normans, as the Italians did from the Lombards,

IX.

The Preface.

bards, it was great Ignorance, or great Deceitfulness in our Author to assert the Roman Empire to be Hereditary, and a vain attempt to go about to prove, that it descended upon Constantin, Constantius, and Julian in the same limited and lineal way of Succession, that this Imperial Crown descends upon the next Heir in a lineal Order according to Proximity of Blood. He might with as much Reason have asserted, that the Roman Senate was such a Parliament as ours, or that the private Estates of the Empire descended upon the next lineal Heir in a limited Hereditary Succession, as that the Empire it self did: For the Emperors, no more than their Subjects had any such Notion of lineal Settlements, nor would any one of them have known how to entail the Crown, or limit the Descent, or Succession of it to the Heirs for ever of any one Favourite, although it had been at his Disposal, as much as his private Lands, and Estates.

This

82.
The Preface.

This is plain from the Practise of those Emperors, who endeavoured as much as they could, to pass over the Empire in part or in whole, like an Inheritance, unto those they loved best. For, Sometimes they preferred Strangers before their own Kindred, and made them Cæsars; and sometimes the Remoter of their own Kindred, before the nearer in Blood. Sometimes they would make one, and sometimes two, or more Cæsars, according to the number of their Children, as the Reader will find in the first Chapter of this Answer; but none of them ever attempted to get it settled upon one man and his future Children after him, much less upon his Heirs Males, or Females in a lineal Succession for ever. They were as Ignorant of this sort of Settlement and Heirship, as their
Obs. *Subjects; which is worth observing to all those, who read the Latine or Greek Authors, that they be not imposed upon by the words Heir, Hereditary, Inheritance, or Patrimony, which never signifie*

The Preface.

nise in that special manner, as they do among us in relation to Entailed Kingdoms and Estates, but as they do in other Countries with respect to goods and Chattels, to which no man succeeds but as a Testamentary Heir, if the deceased person made a Will, or if he died Intestate, as Heir at Law. Under the former Character some of the Emperors indeed might be said in a large, and (r) complemental Sense to have the Empire descend upon them in an Hereditary Succession, because it was bequeathed unto them as much as it could be by the Testaments of their Predecessors: But under the latter, none ever claimed the Empire, but (s) Florianus the Brother of Tacitus, who had scarce reigned two Months, before the Senate, and Army chose another Emperor after the usual Manner; where-

(r) Thus the Panegyrist to Constantine the Great; *Ut quum tibi Pater [Constantius] Imperium reliquisset, Caesaris tamen appellatione contentus expectare malueris, ut idem te qui illum declarat Augustum, si quidem ipsum Imperium hoc fore pulchrius judicabas, si id non hereditarium ex successione cepisses, sed virtutibus tuis debitum a summo Imperatore meruisses.*

(s) *Vid. Vopiscum in Florian.*

The Preface.

whereupon his own Souldiers slew him, as an Usurper. Indeed the Emperor Quintillus did also succeed his Brother Claudius, but the Historian takes care to let

(c) Treb. Pollio in Claudio. Quintillus frater ejusdem vir sanctus, et sui fratris vere frater delatum sibi omnium judicio suscepit Imperium non hereditarium, sed merito virtutum, qui factus esset Imperator, etiam si frater Claudii Principis non fuisset.

us know that it was by vertue of his (c) Election, and not as Heir at Law; and therefore if the Roman Empire could not descend like a Private Estate from an Intestate Emperor unto a

Brother, as Heir at Law, I leave Mr. J. and his Oracle Mr. H. to consider, how far it was from being Hereditary in a limited and lineal Succession, as entailed Kingdoms, and particularly this of England is.

Thus much by way of supplement, to what I had omitted in the first Chapter; to which I shall add a few other Observations, which I hope will not be unworthy of the Readers notice; as first, concerning (u) Lucifer Calaritanus,

(u) P. 97, 98.

nus,

The Preface.

nus, who, as I have shewn, gave his own
 Sovereign Constantius Junior, though
 a Christian, as contumelious Names as
 any Mr. J. can shew the Christians gave Ju-
 lian, which besides something of extream
 Severity, which was in the Temper of the
 Man, is to be resolved into this false Prin-
 ciple, which discovers it self in his Tract
 De non parcendo in Deum delin-
 quentibus, viz. That the Servants of
 God (by whom he specially meant the
 Clergy) were to take the same liberty in
 Reproving and Correcting their Kings,
 that the Prophets did under the Old Testa-
 ment, and upon this mistaken Principle he
 justifies his reproachful manner of treat-
 ing the Emperor, as consistent with his Du-
 ty to him. This I thought worth observing
 by way of Apology for the Good man, who,
 as he Erroneously followed the Example
 of the Prophets in the great Liberty, and
 Severity, which he used in Chastising the
 Emperor; so, like a Prophet, he was a
 great Patron and Example of Passive
 Obedi-

The Preface.

Obedience, being so far from exhorting the Orthodox to resist Constantius, when he so severely persecuted them, that he wrote a little Book to exhort them to Patience, and Constancy in their Sufferings, Entituled, (x) Moricendum esse pro Dei Filio.

(x) In Biblioth. Patrum. Ed. Par.

In the fourth Chapter among other Arguments which I have used, to shew, the utter improbability of Old Gregory's undertaking to kick Julian, I forgot this, That it is not reasonable to believe, that so Good and Apostolick a Bishop, would so deliberately resolve to kick any man, much less his own Sovereign, contrary to the express Rules of the Apostle, who saith, That

(y) 1 Tim. 3.3.
Tit. 1. 7.
(z) 2 Tim. 2. 24.

a Bishop must be no (y) Striker, but on the contrary, that (z) the Servant of the Lord, must not strive, but be Gentle unto all men, apt to teach, and Patient. This special Rule about the Patient and Meek Behaviour of Clergy-men we find enlarged in the 9th. of the

The Preface.

the Apostolical Canons, in these words ;
 If any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon beat any Believer, or Unbeliever, that doth him wrong,——we command, that he be deposed, because our Lord hath in no wise taught us so to do ; but on the contrary, when he was stricken, he did not strike again, when he was reviled he reviled not again, when he suffered, he threatned not. *And Balsamon, and Zonar. on this Canon both say, That a Clergy-man rather than strike another, ought to him that smiteth him on the one Cheek, to turn the other also. And as the Church does straitly forbid Clergy-men to strike, so did she also severely forbid both Clergy men, and Lay-men to affront an Emperor, or Ruler, the former under the penalty of being deposed, and the latter of being excluded from the Holy Communion, as may be seen in the 84th. Apostolical Canon ; which makes it still more Incredible, that such an Holy Bishop, as*
 a young

The Preface.

young Gregory describes his Father to be, should suffer his Zeal so outrageously to transport him beyond all the Rules of common Decency, and Duty to resolve upon kicking the Emperor, against the Example of Christ, the reiterated Precepts of the Apostle, and the Canons and Censures of the Church.

Among other Examples, which I have brought towards the latter end of the 5th. Chapter to shew, that there was nothing Singular, or Extraordinary in the Behaviour of Valentinian, Publia, &c. towards Julian, as our Author would make his Reader believe, I beg leave to add one

(a) *Johannes dictus in martyrologio Usuardi, Adonis, Notkeri, et in vetere Romano, die 7 Sept. Valerius in Annotat. ad cap. 5. lib. 8. Hist. Eccl. Eusebii.*

more of a (a) Christian of great Rank, and Quality in Nicomedia, who, as Eusebius, the Relater of the Story, saith, being acted by a Divine Zeal, and a flaming Faith, pulled down the Imperial Edict for destroying the Churches in Nicomedia, from the Pillar, upon which it was fixed

in

xvii.

The Preface.

in the most resorted place of all the City, and tore it in pieces, as a most Wicked, and Ungodly Order, although two of the Emperors Dioclesian, and Galerius, were then in the Town. For this Contempt, not of the Authority, but of the Tyranny of the Emperors, he was seized, and tortured to death, & had the Honour to be the Proto-martyr of the Dioclesian Persecution. Now according to Mr. J. had any of the Christian Subjects of Julian, like stout Champions of Christ, served him in this manner, it must not have been put upon the score of their Zeal to suffer for Christ, but have been represented as an Effect of their special Hatred, and Contempt of him, as an Apostate, and a Persecutor against Law. But much more if any Christian City had forcibly opposed any of his Officers, or Captains, as the (b) People of Constantinople in a Violent Insurrection opposed Hermogenes one of the Captains of Constantius, (whose House they set on Fire, and dragged

(b) Socrat. Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 13.

The Preface.

him about the Streets, till he was dead) or if any Discontented Ambitious Man had by chance Rebelled against Julian,

under the Masque of Religion, as (c) *Magnentius*
(c) Baron. An. 350.
 n. 1. An. 353. n. 5.

did against Constans, and Constantius, Mr. J. according to his way of arguing, would have turned the matter into a general Conclusion, That the same Men who would quietly have submitted under a Nero, and Dioclesian, do nevertheless resist an Apostate, and a Persecutor against Law, and pursue him like a Midnight Robber. But God be praised the Banner of the Cross was never display'd against the Apostate by any of his Christian Subjects; nor did they raise any Seditions against him, having recovered much of the Primitive, and Genuine Temper of Christianity, from which many of them, by reason of the great heats between the Arrians, and Orthodox, had a little degenerated in his Predecessors Reign. But in his time they behaved them-

The Preface.

themselves with Exemplary Patience under the highest Provocations; for laying aside their Mutual Animosities, they prayed together (as our (d)

Author observes) and like (d) Preface p. 28.

true Champions of Christ, despised the Power, and Threatnings of the Tyrant, being ready in the Apostles passive Sense of the words, to resist him unto Blood.

*But what if any of them had risen up in Rebellion against him, or Stirs, and Seditions had hapned in some of the great Cities upon the Account of Religion? Would the Exorbitant Practises of some, (according to our Authors way of arguing) have been a sufficient ground for a General Imputation upon all the Christians of the Empire? Would the Behaviour of some particular Persons, or Companies, have justified such general Phrases, as are wont to be expressed with **they**, and **their**. If this be good Logique, then the Stirs and Tumults at Paul's Cross in Queen Mary's days may be yet authorized by*

The Preface.

Mr. J. upon all the Protestants of London, and the Rebellion of Wyat, and his Adherents upon all the Protestants of the Nation, as their General Act. He may make another Book, and tell the People in his deceitful way of writing, that **they** threw Stones, and Daggers

(e) Mr. Bourn. Speed in Q. Mary. Fox Acts in Q. M. Dr. Burnets Hist. Reform. Par. 2. p. 245.

(f) Dr. Pendleton. Speed. Ib.

(g) Id. ib.

at (e) some, and discharged Pistols at (f) other Priests, who were sent by the Qu. and Counsel to preach unto them; that **they** taught a

(g) Maid to speak Seditious Speeches against the Queen in a Wall, so that the People believed it was the Voice of an Angel; that **they** put a Cope upon a Cat, shaved her Crown, and tied something like a Waser between her Forelegs, and then in derision of Popery hanged her upon a Gallows at Cheap-Cross. In a word, that **they** rose up against her in Defence of their

(h) The Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyat, was upon the Account of Religion, as is plain

(h) Religion, and so shewed their Hatred to her, and how they held her

The Preface.

her in the lowest degree of Contempt.

out of Fox, who saith,
That the Queens Marriage was very ill taken of the People and of many of the Nobility,

who for this, and for Religion made a Rebellion; and that Sir Thomas Wyat the Chief, said, That the Queen by her Marriage would bring Servitude upon the Realm, and establish the Popish Religion. So saith Mr. Bradford of them, in his Exhortation to the Professors of the Gospel in England. Now for the Victory given to the Queen, if men had any Godly Wit, they might see many things in it: First, God hath done it to win her heart to the Gospel. Again, he hath done it, because they that went against her, put their Trust in Horses, and Power of Men, and because in their doing, they sought not the Propagation of Gods Gospel, which thing is now plainly seen. Therefore no marvail, why God fought against them. They were Hypocrites, and under the Cloke of the Gospel would have debarred the Queens Highness of her Right, but God would not so Cloke them.

If a Man should set his Wit to give such an Account of the Behaviour of the Protestants towards Queen Mary, picking up such Stories as these, and concealing their Loyalty in setting her upon the Throne, and their Meek and Passive Behaviour under her Persecution, he might make just such another Fallacious Book as that of Mr. Js. who hath gleaned 3, or 4, Particular Stories out of the Histories of the Apostate, upon which he hath put false Colours, and suppressed, and concealed as

The Preface.

much as he could the Loyalty and Passive Obedience of his Subjects, and what he could not conceal, he hath (and I verily believe against his own Conscience) resolved into a wrong Cause.

In the 7th. Chapter about Julian's death, I omitted one good Argument to prove he was not Treacherously killed by a Christian, taken from this Expression

in his last (i) Speech:
(i) Amm. Mar. l. 25.
 c. 3. Hakewells Scutum
 Reg. p. 148.
Sempiternum veneror
Numen, quod non clan-

destinis infidiis, nec longâ morborum asperitate, nec damnatorum sine, sed in medio cursu florentium gloriarum hunc merui clarum è mundo digressum: I bless the Eternal Deity (saith he) that I do not dye by secret treachery, &c. which very Expression seems to prove that he himself did not in the least suspect, that he was struck by a Roman, much less a Christian Hand, as Mr. J. designs his Reader should believe. I might also have observed, that Mr. J. is the first Writer of
the

The Preface.

the Church of England, whose Genius hath led him to follow the Example of

(k) Mariana (whom Rutherford the Author of *Lex Rex* accounted an ap-

proved Author) in citing of Sozomen for Justifying (as he saith) the Murder of Julian by one of his

own Soldiers. But, as I have observed, Soz. did neither justifie, nor commend, but only extenuat the Crime, for which he hath been severely censured by other

(l) Authors; but Mr. J. let him pass without Rebuke, though, I confess, he

hath called the Fact a Traiterous Assassination, but with what appearance of Integrity, let the Impartial Reader judge.

(k) His verbis: *No-
bilis Historicus Sozome-
nus l. 6. c. 2. Militem,
si quis forte Julianum
Imperatorem occidisset
(uti eo tempore quidam
accusabant) Jure &
cum laude fecisse ait.*
*Hakewells Scutum Reg.
p. 142.*

(l) *Sozomenum men-
daci arguit Gregorius
Magnus, stupiditatis
incredibilis, Baronius.
Ibid.*

In the beginning of his Preface he makes a mighty Flourish, and in very fal-
lacious Rhetoric, against the Loyal Ad-
dressers for being contrary to themselves,

pro-

The Preface.

promising to maintain his Majesty, and the Religion established, with their Lives, and Fortunes, and a Popish Successor too. But though common Readers cannot, yet others can look through this Malicious Fallacy; for it was not the Popish Successor, as popish, but the Succession, which they promised to maintain, and not the Person, who shall succeed, in his endeavours to overthrow the Protestant Religion, there they will desert him, as the Suffolk-Protestants did Queen Mary; but in all other things they will serve a Popish Successor with their Lives, and Fortunes, as the Christians did a Pagan, and particularly Julian, so that he may keep the Horns of Mahomets Angels, which were half Fire, and half Snow, as an Emblem for such Protestants, who can fight against the Person of their Prince in Defence of his Authority, and who are wont to qualifie their professed Zeal for him with such Cooling Considerations, as do perfectly extinguish it, as Snow doth Fire.

Then

The Preface.

Then he goes on to tell us, that A Popish Successor will be an Heavy Judgment: But then (saith he reflecting upon the Addressers) Did ever Men pray for a Judgment, and make it their Humble Request, that they might be sure of it? But did any of the Loyal Addressers Pray or Desire, that the next Successor might be a Papist, or is Mr. J. or any of the Excluders sure, that he that is next will succeed to the Crown? Nay, do not the Truly Loyal Party pray, and endeavour to make him a Good Protestant; and were they not in Parliament for making of Good Laws for our Security against him: And hath not the Author of Julian very much Forehead, to say of so considerable a part of the Nation, That if they be Protestants, yet he thinks them men weary of their Religion, who are Undone for a Prince, a Great Part of whose Religion is to Persecute, and Extirpate theirs? But doth he not know, That they Love the King, and pray for his
Pre-

The Preface.

Preservation, and wish that he may live for ever? Does he not know, that they wish him a Numerous Posterity, and that there were a Succession of many Young Princes, between him and the Collateral Heir? And have they not (at least) as good Reasons to declare for the Succession, as the Excluders have to declare against it, who by an Act of Exclusion would likely bring as great a Plague, and as Heavy a Judgment upon the Nation, as a Popish Prince will do?

But yet so bent is this Man to Exclusion, that he tacitly commends King Edward for Impeaching the Succession of his Sister Mary by the most Unauthoritative and Unjust Act, that a good Prince could be guilty of. Every body knows (saith he) that King Edward the Sixth, to prevent his Popish Sister from Succeeding, bequeathed his Kingdom by Will to the Lady Jane, and every body knows, who put the young Prince upon it; and I wish too many of those who were for per-

The Preface.

perswading (shall I say) or forcing his Majesty to Exclude his only Brother, be not such Self-designing Protestants, as they. And I need not (adds he) say what Bishops were concerned, nor how far they were concerned in that Business. This (you must know) is a Reflection on the Bishops for voting against the Bill of Exclusion; but how little this Story makes against them, you shall hear from Archbishop Crammer, who indeed was more concerned in that Business, than our Author is willing the World should know. I am (saith he in his Letter to the Queen) constrained most lamentably, and with most penitent and sorrowful Heart to ask Mercy, and Pardon for my Hainous Folly, and Offence, in consenting and following the Testament, and last Will of our Sovereign Lord King Edward your Graces Brother, which Will, God he knoweth, I never liked, nor never any thing grieved me so much, as that your Graces Brother
 did;

The Preface.

did; and if by any means it had been in me to have letted the making of that Will, I would have done it; and what I said therein, as well to his Counsel, as himself, divers of your Majesties Counsel can report, but none so well, as the *Marquis of Northampton*, & the *L. Darcy*, which two were present at the Communication between the King, and me. I designed to talk with the Kings Majesty alone, and at good leisure my trust was, that I should have altered him from that purpose, but they being present, my Labour was in vain ——— Acknowledging mine Offence with most grievous, and sorrowful Heart ——— The Duke of *Northumberland* said unto me, That it became not me to say to the King, as I did, when I went about to dissuade him from the said Will.

From the Bishops, who consented to the Will of King Edward, he goes on to the Bishops, who concurred in making the Statute

The Preface.

xxix.

*tute of 13 Eliz. Chap. 1. which makes it Stat. 13 El.
High Treason during the Queens Life, c. 1.
and forfeiture of Goods, and Chattels af-
ter her Death, to say, That an Act of Par-
liament is not of sufficient Force, and
Validity to limit, and bind the Crown
of this Realm, and the Descent, Limi-
tation, Inheritance, and Government
thereof.*

This Act of Parliament is the Palla-
dium of the Excluders, but all the Ar-
guments that can be taken from it, are so
well answered in the (m)

two Answers to the Brief
History of the Successi-
on, and the Power of
Parliaments in the

(m) The Great Point
of Succession Discussed.
A True and Exact
History of the Successi-
on, to which I refer the
Reader.

Case of Succession, that Mr. J. had
better not have mentioned it, nor
would he (I suppose) have done so, but to
take occasion to make an Invidious Pa-
rallel betwixt the Bishops of that time,
and the present Bishops of the Church. For
he presents us with a List of their Names,
and

The Preface.

and tells us, That many of them were Confessors, and that they were active and zealous for such Acts as these.

I know not what he means by such Acts as these, for it cannot be proved from Sir

Simon Dewes his (n)

(n) P. 140.

Journal, which he hath

cited, That they consented to this Act about limiting the Succession, but for any thing we find there to the contrary, they might be concluded in the Majority of the Lords.

But if it were certain they did all concur to that Act, they had very good Reason for so doing, because it was so highly conducive at that Season to secure the Queen (whose Title was disputeable) from being ejected, or dispossessed of the Crown, by the Queen of Scotland & her Heirs.

*(o) 28 ch. 7. 34 ch. 1.
— censured as unjust by
Judge Jenkins. Jenkins
Rediv. p. 29.*

But as the (o) Statutes of Henry the 8th, which

impowered him to limit the Descent of this Imperial Crown, had not the honour to be formally repealed, but were virtually declared Null, and Void from the beginning.

The Preface.

ginning by the 3 Estates i Jacob. ch. 1. in an Act of Recognition, of King James his Immediate, Lawful, and Undoubted Right unto the Crown, as the next Lineal Heir: So this of Queen Elizabeths, which is now left out of the Statute-Book, received its deaths Wound thereby, as being a Virtual Repealing of it, or an Implicit Anti-Declaration, That an Act of Parliament is not of sufficient force, and validity to limit, and bind the Descent of the Crown, when the Succession is clear, and indisputable, as (God be thanked) it now is.

From this Act of Queen Eliz. he passes on to the Paper of Reasons to prove the Queens Majesty bound in Conscience to proceed with severity in this Case of the late Queen of Scots. He Fathers this Paper with great confidence upon the Bishops, contrary to Sir Simons Opinion, calling of it their Writing, although I am confident, that, would he impartially speak what he thinks, he must needs say,
b that

The Preface.

that he doth not believe, they had any hand in the thing. For

1. *First*, It is uncertain where, or by whom the Reasons were framed: Sir Simon (*) P. 207. saith, (*) That most likely they were framed in the House of Commons, (o) and calls them
2. *their Reasons*. Secondly, It is very probable they were framed by some private Person, who speaks often in the singular Number, as God I trust in time shall open her Eyes: To those men I think God himself, and his Angels will seem
3. *cruel*; and therefore, *Thirdly*, It is not probable, that they should be presented unto the Queen (if they were presented at all, as Sir Simon doth but conjecture) in the Name, or as the Sense of the Bishops, especially if we consider that the Paper is anonymous, and many of the Reasons in it are the very same which the Papists urge for putting Heretick, and the Scotizing Presbyterians (of which there were (p) many in Queen

(p) Vid. Bancrofts Dangerous Positions.

The Preface.

Queen Elizabeths time) for putting Popish Princes to death. I desire Mr. J. to read them again, and then to tell me, Whether he thinks in his Conscience the Bishops of the Church of England could pen such a Popish, or Presbyterian Piece? Is it credible to believe, that they could argue so falsly upon the Principles of the Jewish Theocracy to the like proceedings in Christian States? If this way of arguing be true, then the Queen was bound to burn many Popish Towns in her Kingdom, and smite the Inhabitants with the Sword, and to pull down all the Churches especially the Cathedrals, because they had been polluted with Idols. For my part, I must declare, that it cannot enter into my Heart to believe, that those Bishops would liken themselves to Samuel, the Queen to Saul, and the Queen of Scots unto Agag; or compare themselves to the Man of God, her Majesty to Achab, and the Queen of Scots to Benhadad, or parallel her Case with that of Jesabel,

The Preface.

and Athaliah : Or propose unto her Majesty the Example of Solomon, who spared not his own natural, yea, and his elder Brother Adonijah for Suspicion, and likelihood of Treason, for a Marriage purposed only, but put him to death for the same, and that speedily without course of Judgment; Or lastly, Argue from Deut. 13. 6. If thy Brother the Son of thy Mother, &c. In citing of which it is evident upon whom our Author did reflect. I would fain know of him, if he approve of this way of arguing, or no; if he do not, why should he think the Reason of those learned Prelates so much weaker than his own? But if he do, may he please to consult Dr. Hickes his Peculium Dei, where he will be better informed.

But besides this inconclusive way of arguing from the Laws, and Examples of the Jewish Theocracy, there is in those Reasons a Passage about Constantinus Magnus, which is not consistent with the Learning,

xxviii

The Preface.

ning, and Integrity of those Fathers. It is this, That C. M. caused *Licinius* to be put to death, being not his Subject, but his Fellow-Emperor, for that the said *Licinius* laboured to subvert the Christian Religion; which is not true, for *Licinius* had rendred himself, and his Purple to Constantine upon condition of Life, and so was become a private Person, and he caused him to be put to death for new Attempts against his Promise, after he became his Subject, as I have shewed, p. 43.

If the Reader please to consult this Anonymous Paper at large, he will find it *Presbyterian* and *Scottish* from one end to the other, and a Brat so unlike the Bishops, upon whom the true Author hath fastened it, that a man may almost safely swear, that it was none of *Theirs*. Indeed there is one Good Argument in it, why the Queens Subjects might have been urgent with her Majesty to put the Queen of Scots to death, and that is this, That she sought the Life of the Queen, and

The Preface.

endeavoured to disinherit, and destroy her. *These Attempts put her perfectly out of the Queens Protection, and though for this Reason she might lawfully be excluded out of the World, yet still the question remains, Whether she could be excluded from the Crown? To be excluded out of the World, and from the Crown, are things of a disparat Nature, and the former may, and sometimes ought to be done, when the latter neither can, nor*—*ought. As for Example, among the Jews*

(q) Selden *de Successionibus*. c. 5.

it was the Birthright of the (q) only Son to succeed to his Fathers whole Estate, or when there were more, of the eldest to have a double share; and though they ought to have been put to death by the Hebrew Laws for Smiting, or Cursing their Father, yet could they not be disinherited, or excluded from the Succession, which shews our Authors great Fallacy, in which he Triumphs, in arguing, as it were a fortiori, from the Exclusion of the Heir
of

xxvii

The Preface.

of the Crown out of the World, unto the Exclusion of him from the Crown. They (saith he of the Bishops) were Excluders with a witness, for they were for excluding the next Heir, not only from the Succession, but out of the World. And again; A Bill of Exclusion is perfect Courtship to these Reasons. Let those therefore that have run down 3 successive Houses of Commons for that Bill, turn their Fury and Reproaches with more Justice upon these old Excluders. But all these fine Words are nothing to the purpose, for these Old Excluders were not Excluders from the Succession, which spoys the parity of the Instance; and to let him see that it doth so, he may assure himself, That the same Loyal Men, who run down 3 Houses of Commons for the Bill to Exclude his R. H. from the Succession, would nevertheless upon sufficient Proof that he sought the Life of his dear Brother (to whom hitherto he hath shewed himself the most

The Preface.

Obedient of his Subjects) be willing to do him Justice, and exclude him out of the World. Furthermore, to let Mr. J. see what a great difference there is between these two Exclusions, I must remind him, that in case Queen Elizabeth had died between the Sentence of Mary Queen of Scots, and her Execution, that the Descent of the Crown would have purged Her of all Crimes, and that she would have had the same Right unto it, which the Parliament declared her Son James afterwards had upon Queen Elizabeths death.

But yet, though the Descent of the Crown purges all Defects, and would bring back the greatest Malefactor of an Heir, not only from a Prison, but from the Scaffold, and from the Block to the Throne; yet our Author with unparallelled Consti-
 (r) Preface p. 19. dence (r)-challenges all that were against impeaching the Succession, To give him but one Reason to prove a Bill of Exclusion to be Unlawful,

The Preface.

lawful, which they will own to be a Reason a Week after, and not be ashamed of it, and he doth solemnly promise to joyn with them in renouncing these Old Reformers, and thereafter will follow their New Guides, and New Lights.

I never in all my Life read any thing so bold from a Man of Mr. Js. mediocrity, who here challenges the House of Lords, the 3 Estates of Scotland, the University of Cambridge, one of the Secretaries of State, the Loyal Addressers, and several other Persons of Note, whom he ought to believe, are at least as wise, and learned, and as good Protestants as himself.

First, The House of Lords, who were the first, that in his Phrase run down the House of Commons for the Bill of Exclusion, upon which his Majesty sent the House this Message, That He was confirmed in his Opinion against that Bill, by the Judgment of the House of Lords, who rejected it; and may not one
pre-

The Preface.

presume, that many of them rejected it, because they thought it disagreeable to the Lex Legum, or great standing Law of this Inheritable Kingdom, That nothing is to be consented to in Parliament, which tends to the disinherison of the Crown, whereunto they are sworn. This is the great Rule by which all Acts of Parliament are to be framed, and if any of them transgress it they are as null and void from the beginning, as Marriage with a person, who hath a natural Impediment, or Imperfection. By this Supream Inviolable Law, an Act of Parliament for dissolving the Monarchy, or for debarring the King of the Service of his Subjects, or for giving the Crown unto a Forainer, or for making it Homageable to a Superiour Power, or for dividing the Monarchy into Co-partnership unto two Heirs, or for Excluding the whole Royal Family, (as many of the Excluders grant) would all be Null, and Void from the beginning;
and

The Preface:

and so, I verily believe, most of them think that an Act for Excluding the next Heir would be so too, which made them so zealous to back it with an Act for an Association, which the Author of the Power of Parliaments ingeniously calls a Club-Law.

I know not what any Excluder can reply to this, but either to say, That an Act of Parliament, which tends to the Disinherison of the Crown is nevertheless valid, or that an Act of Exclusion hath no tendency thereunto; To assert the former would be a Contradiction to the most Eminent Lawyers Antient, and Modern, and many Declarations in Parliament, and would also suppose, that an Act for destroying the Monarchy it self, &c. would be valid. And to assert the latter, is virtually to say, That an Act for Disinheriting the next Heir, doth not tend to the disinherison of the Crown; which would be difficult to maintain, because the same Power that puts by One Heir, may put by
Ten,

The Preface.

Ten, either altogether, or Successively, and so Adieu to the Royal Family, and the Hereditary Succession, which may be laid aside in part or in whole, when the King, and Parliament shall please.

But to return to this Fundamental-Law of the Monarchy, which seems to invalidate all Acts of Parliament, that tend to the Disinherison, or Destruction of the Crown, and particularly all those, which limit, and bind the Succession. It was by this

Law that the (s) Act of Parliament which Impowered King Henry the 8th. to dispose of the Crown by his Last Will and Testament to what person, or persons soever he pleased, proved Ineffectual to the House of Suffolk, to which he bequeathed it, after the death of Queen Elizabeth; which made a Gentleman, as was reported, put this Dilemma in the House of Commons, which I never yet heard satisfactorily Answered. Either the Statutes of King H. 8. about Succession were Obligatory, or Valid,

or

The Preface.

uely, or they were not: If not, then Acts of Par-
 liament, which impeach the Succession,
 are without any more ado, Null and Void
 in Law; but if they were, by what autho-
 rity was the House of Suffolk Excluded,
 and King James admitted to the Crown,
 contrary to many Statutes against him?
 notwithstanding all which
 the (t) High Court of Par-
 liament declared, That the Imperial
 Crown of this Realm did by Inherent
 Birthright, and lawful and undoubt-
 ed Succession, descend unto his Ma-
 jesty, as being lineally, justly, and law-
 fully next, and sole Heir of the Royal
 Blood. Here His Succession is owned
 for Lawful, and Undoubted, against the
 foresaid Acts; Lawful, not by any Sta-
 tute, but contrary to Statutes, by the Com-
 mon-Law of this Hereditary Kingdom,
 which seems to Reject all Limitations and
 Exclusions, as tending to the Disinheritson,
 and Prejudice of the Crown.

(t) 1 Jacob. 1.

For as the Most Learned, and Loyal
 Sir

The Preface.

(u) Third part of
The Address to the Free-
men, &c. p. 98.

(u) Sir L. J. represented to
the House of Commons, a
Bill of Exclusion, if it
should pass, would change the Essence of
the Monarchy, and make the Crown Ele-
ctive; or, as another (x)
Ingenious Pen saith, It
would tend to make a

(x) Author of the
Power of Parliaments.
p. 39.

Foot-ball of the Crown, and turn an He-
reditary Monarchy into Elective. For by
the same Reason, that one Parliament may
disinherit one Prince for his Religion, o-
ther Parliaments may disinherit another
upon other Pretences, and so consequently
by such Exclusions, Elect whom they
please.

The next Reason, which seems to make
an Act of Exclusion unlawful, is the Oath
of Supremacy, which most of the Kings
Subjects are called to take upon one Occa-
sion, or other, and which the Répresen-
tatives of the Commons of England are
bound by Law to take before they can sit
in the House.

By

The Preface.

By this Oath every one, who takes it swears to Assist, and Defend all Jurisdictions, Priviledges, Preheminences, and Authorities, granted or belonging to the Kings Highness, his Heirs, and lawful Successors, or united, and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. And I appeal to every Honest, and Loyal English-man, whether it be not one of the most undoubted, transcendent, and Essential Rights, Priviledges, and Preheminences belonging to the Kings Heirs, and united to the Imperial Crown of England, that they succeed unto the Crown, as it comes to their turn, according to Proximity of Blood. Secondly, I desire to know, Whether by Lawful Successors, is not to be understood, such Heirs as succeed according to the common Rules of Hereditary Succession settled by the Common-Law of England, and if so, how any Man, who is within the Obligation of this Oath, can Honestly consent to a Bill of Exclusion, which deprives the next Heir
(and

The Preface.

(and in him virtually the whole Royal Family) of the Chief Priviledge, and Preheminnence which belongs unto him, by the Common-Law of this Realm; Or how any Man, who hath taken this Oath, which is so apparently designed for the Preservation, of the Rights, and Priviledges of the Royal Family, can deny Faith and true Allegiance to the next Heir from the Moment of his Predecessors death, according to the Common Right of Hereditary Succession, which by Common-Law belongs unto Him, and is annexed to the Crown? What Oath soever is made for the Behoof and Interest of the Kings Heirs and Lawful Successors in general, must needs be made for the Behoof and Interest of every one of them; but the Oath of Supremacy so made for the Behoof and Interest of the Kings Heirs, is apparently in general to secure the Succession unto them; and therefore it is undoubtedly made to secure the Succession to every one of them according to the Common Order

of

The Preface.

of Hereditary Succession, when it shall come to their turn to succeed.

I have used this Plain and Honest Way of arguing with many of the Excluders themselves, and I could never yet receive a satisfactory Answer unto it. Some indeed have said, with our Author, that the Oath of Supremacy is a Protestant Oath, and so could not be understood in a Sense destructive to the Protestant Religion, which is a meer Shift, and proves nothing, because it proves too much. For according to this Answer we might dispense with our sworn Faith and Allegiance to a Popish King, if any should hereafter turn such, because the Oaths of Allegiance, and Supremacy, are Protestant Oaths, and are not to be understood, according to them, in a sense destructive to the Protestant Religion.

Secondly, Though they are Protestant Oaths, yet they respect not the King and his Heirs as Protestants, but as lawful, and rightful King, and Heirs, according

The Preface.

to the Imperial Law of this Hereditary Kingdom; and therefore Moderate Papists, will take the Oath of Supremacy, as well as of Allegiance (as indeed it was
 (y) 35 H.8. ch. 1. for substance taken in the
 § 11. Time of (y) H. 8.) which they could not do, were they made to the King, and his Heirs, as Protestants.

But Thirdly, As they are Protestant Oaths, they bind us the more Emphatically to assist and defend the King against the Usurpation of the Pope, who pretends to a Power of Deposing Kings, and of Excluding Hereditary Princes from the Succession (Witness Henry the 4th;) and therefore as all good Protestants are bound by these promissory Oaths to maintain the King in the Throne, so are they bound to maintain and defend their Heirs, and Successors, when their Rights shall fall.

I have joyned the Oath of Allegiance with the other of Supremacy, because in it we also swear to bear Faith and true Allegiance to the Kings Heirs, and
 Suc-

The Preface.

Successors, and Him, and them to defend to the utmost of our Power; *And I here protest to all the World, That when I took these Oaths, I understood the Words Heirs, and Successors, for such as hereafter were to be Kings by the Ordinary Course of Hereditary Succession: And I appeal to the Conscience of every Honest Protestant, if he did not understand them so.*

Other Excluders I have heard maintain, that the King, and Three Estates in Parliament had a Power by an Act of Exclusion to discharge the People of this part of their Oaths, Of bearing Faith and true Allegiance to the Kings Heirs, and Lawful Successors, but this seems contrary to the following Clause of the Oath of Allegiance, (which is also to be understood in the other of Supremacy) I do believe and in my Conscience am resolved, that neither the Pope, nor any other person whatsoever, hath Power to absolve me of this Oath, or any

L.

The Preface.

part thereof : *And I appeal even to Mr. J. Whether a Man can be absolved from a Promissory Oath by any Power upon Earth, but by the Person, or Persons to whom, and for whose behoof it was made.*

To assert that the King by the Consent of the Parliament can absolve a Man from the binding Force of an Oath which he hath made for the Interest of a 3d. Person, is to give him, what his Justice would abhor, a Papal Authority over the Consciences of Men; which Consideration, I suppose, as well as the Popish Practise of Exclusion, made the great Man, above cited, say, For my part, I think there is more of Popery in this Bill, than there can possibly be in the Nation without it; for none but Papists, and Fifth-monarchy-men did ever go about to Disinherit Princes for their Religion. But some Men will say, Why should not Protestants Disinherit Popish, as well as Popish Disinherit Protestant Princes? To which the

An-

The Preface.

Answer is easie by another Question, Why should not Protestants Depose Popish, as well as Papists have Deposed Protestant Kings?

I am not Conscious to my self, that I have used the least Sophistry in Arguing, as I have done, from the Oaths of Allegiance, and Supremacy against an Act of Exclusion; yet Mr. J. hath the Confidence to call these Arguments taken from those Oaths (z) shameful

(z) Preface p. 19.

Sophistry, and the Conscientious Regard, that Honest Protestants have unto them, deceitful Prejudice, which (he saith) is occasioned for want of distinguishing betwixt Actual, and Possible Heirs. But he is very much, and I fear very Wilfully mistaken; For the Faith, and Allegiance in these Oaths is promised to the Possible Heirs, when they shall become Actual according to the common Order of Succession, or to speak yet

(a) Otherwise thus : *more (a) plainly, our Faith Those who take the Oaths of Allegiance, and Supremacy, swear to accept and take the Possible Heirs for their Sovereigns when they shall become Actual according to the Hereditary and Lineal Descent of the Crown.*

and

The Preface.

and Allegiance is promised to the possible Heirs, and is to be made good, and performed unto them, and every one of them, when by the Providence of God, they shall come to be actual, according to the known Order of Hereditary Succession; and thus for Example, to use his own Instance, The Excise is granted to the Kings Heirs, and Successors; i. e. To the Kings Future Heirs, and Successors, upon whom the Crown shall descend according to the Ordinary Rule of Succession; and every one of them will have a Right to the Excise by vertue of that Grant, when of a Possible he shall by Gods Providence (who determines the days of Kings) become an Actual Heir, or have the Crown fall upon his Head by Lawful and Undoubted Succession, according to the Fundamental Custom of this Hereditary Realm.

A Third Reason against the Bill of Exclusion is taken from the Author of this Hereditary Succession to the Crown, which

The Preface.

is (b) God alone, who hath given it to the Royal Family for a Perpetual Inheritance, and hath by his Providence ordained, that it should come to one of them after the decease of another, according to Birthright, and Proximity of Blood.

(b) Coke Littleton, fol. 1. 6. *The Inheritance of our Lord the King is a direct Dominion, of which none is the Author but God alone: And from hence as the Learned Bochart observes, the Kings of England have always stiled themselves Dei Gratia, and the Royal Shield carries this Motto, Dieu, & mon droit.* Nay Queen Elizabeth, who through the Dubiousness of her Title,

courted the People so much, yet in her Declaration for Assisting the Netherlands, printed 1585. speaks, as it became such a Sovereign Princess, in this manner; *Although Kings, and Sovereign Princes owing their Homage, and Service only unto Almighty God the King of all Kings, and in that Respect not bound to yield Account, or render a Reason of their Actions to any other but God their Sovereign; and though among the most Ancient, and Christian Monarchs the same Lord God hath committed unto Us the Sovereignty of this Kingdom of England, and other Dominions, which we hold immediately of the same Almighty God; and thereby ———*

From this Principle many good Men, who are as Wise, and as Learned as any of the Excluders, infer this Conclusion, That it would be Usurpation, without a manifest Revelation from God, to Alienate the Crown from this Family, to which he only hath given it, or to preclude any

The Preface.

Person of it, much more the next Heir, whether Apparent or Presumptive, from succeeding thereunto.

This Argument is not so slight, as perhaps Mr. J. will make it; for if the Imperial Crown of England be Subject to none but God, who hath given it for an Inheritance to the Royal Family, then it is very reasonable to conclude, That to endeavour to exclude the Whole Royal Line to prevent Popery, would be Opposition to the Will of God. This I have heard some of the first Form of Excluders readily grant, and from thence I think the Opposers of the Bill of Exclusion may well argue, That to Exclude any one Person of the Royal Family, but most of all the next Heir upon the Line, from the absolute Right, or Birthright, which God alone hath given him, would be also to oppose the Will of God.

All these Arguments against the Bill of Exclusion are owned by the Ingenious
and

17.
The Preface.

and Loyal Author of the
(c) Address to the Free-
men, and Freeholders of England;
and were also own'd by no Vulgar Person
and Scholar in the (d)
House of Commons; and

(c) Third Part. p. 63.

64.

(d) Ib. p. 97, 98.

viz. S^r Je-
olin Jenkins

it is above a Week since, and I am con-
fident they will still own them, without be-
ing ashamed of them, and it will be no
Disgrace to Mr. J. though he were a better
Man, than he is, to follow, as he speaks,
their New Light.

Nay all these Reasons against Exclu-
ding the next Heir from the Succession,
are own'd by the Three Estates of Scot-
land, and would (I am confident) be owned
by them, were they to meet again. I will
set them down as I find them in an Act of
Parliament, Entitled,

An

The Preface.

An Act acknowledging, and asserting the Right of Succession to the Imperial Crown of Scotland. August 13. 1681.

The Estates of Parliament considering, That the Kings of this Realm deriving their Royal Power from God Almighty Alone, do succeed lineally thereto according to the known Degrees of Proximity in Blood, which cannot be interrupted, suspended, or diverted, by any Act, or Statute whatsoever; and that none can attempt to alter, or divert the said Succession, without involving the Subjects of this Kingdom in Perjury and Rebellion, and without exposing them to all the fatal and dreadful Consequences of a Civil War: Do therefore from an hearty and sincere

The Preface:

ere Sense of their Duty, recog-
 nise, acknowledge, and Declare,
 That the Right to the Imperial
 Crown of this Realm is by In-
 herent Right, and the Nature of
 the Monarchy, as well as by the
 Fundamental, and Unalterable
 Laws of this Realm transmit-
 ted, and devolved by a Lineal
 Succession according to the Prox-
 imity of Blood, And that upon
 the death of the King, or Queen,
 who actually Reigns, the Sub-
 jects of this Kingdom are bound
 by Law, Duty, and Allegiance,
 to obey the next, immediate, and
 Lawful Heir, either Male, or Fe-
 male, upon which the Right, and
 Administration of the Govern-
 ment is immediately devolved.
 And that no Difference in Reli-
 gion, nor no Law, or Act of Par-
 liament, made, or to be made, can
 alter, or divert the Right of Suc-
 cession,

The Preface.

cession, and Lineal Descent of the Crown to the Nearest, and Lawful Heirs, according to the Degrees aforesaid; nor can stop, or hinder them in the Full, Free, and Actual Administration of the Government according to the Laws of this Kingdom, Likeas our Sovereign Lord——

To this Declaration of the Three Estates in Scotland, I shall add the Judgment of the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, Doctors, and other Learned, and Loyal Members of the University of Cambridge, in their (c) *Address to His Majesty at New-Market Sept. 18. 1681. where- in they declare, That they will still believe and maintain that our Kings derive not their Titles from the People, but from God, that to Him only they are Accountable; that it belongs not to Subjects either to Create, or*
 Cen-

(c) *Gazett.* n. 1653.

The Preface.

Censure, but to Honour and Obey their Sovereign, who comes to be so by a Fundamental Hereditary Right of Succession, which no Religion, no Law, no Fault, or Forfeiture can Alter or Diminish. *These Learned Men indeed have not so plainly given their Reasons for their Opinion, but by the Hints, which they have given of them, we may perceive, that they are the same, which I have insisted upon, and (I believe) they will still own them, and never be ashamed thereof.*

But Mr. J. it seems, hath learnt another Lesson, since he left the University; A Good Wit upon the Fret, and the great Advantage of having such a Conductor as Mr. H. have made him do Wonders against the Succession, and bless the World with a New Discovery, That (f) the Fathers would have been for a Bill of Exclusion, to the great Reproach of all the Bishops, who
it

(f) Preface p. 12.

The Preface.

it may be, had not preferred some Great Men in their own Opinion, according to their fancied Deserts. But alas! All these Fathers Sanctus Gregorius Nazianzenus Theologus, had but one Beard, and what they said was not determining, as Casuists, but as Orators, declaiming against Constantius for choosing, or making of Julian Cæsar, which is nothing to a Bill of Exclusion, or the Merits of Lineal Hereditary Succession, of which the Father, or the Fathers had no more Notion than of Guns, and Printing, or of a Senate consisting of 2 Houses, and 3 Estates.

But Mr. J. hath shewn how much of the Serpent he hath in him, in Writing with so much Guile and Venom, especially against the Succession, and Passive Obedience, and in Winding, and Turning the Words of Good Authors from their Genuine Sense, to his own Purposes, as that Famous Passage of Gregory 2 Invect. p. 123. where the Father saith, That they

The Preface.

they were destitute of all Humane Aid, and had no other Armour, nor Wall, nor Defence left them, but their Hope in God. *This Place, as I have shewn p. 152. Bishop Montague understood of Free, and Voluntary Passive Obedience, and so did the learned (g) Dr. Hakewell, as every Man needs must, who understands the History of those Times.*

(g) Scutum Regium
l. 3. p. 143. Num du-
storibus vobis opus est?
at habetis Iovianum,
Valentinianum, Valen-
tem, qui postea sunt
Imperii gubernaculus po-
titi, & deniq; Arta-
mum sub ipso Constan-

tino artis militaris peritiâ celebrem, vobis interea idem animus,
eadem mens, quæ Gregorio Nazianzeno. De his Juliani temporibus loquens, Nobis quibus nulla alia arma, nec muri, nec pre-
sidia, &c.

But Mr. J. with what Ingenuity let o-
thers judge, hath (h) ci-
ted the Words to signifie
forced Passive Obedience, such as
that of the Papists hath been of late in
England, who undoubtedly are Passive for
no other Reason, but because they want
sufficient Numbers, and Strength.

(h) P. 94.

But

The Preface.

But as all Sophistical Writers are apt to do, so Mr. J. hath contradicted himself as to this, and other Particulars : As in the 26th. page of his Preface, where he shews out of Sozom. That Julians Army were Christians ; and in the 8th. page of his Book out of Nazianzen, That there were more than 7000 of them (i. e. an indefinite great Number) who did not bow the knee to Baal, but repulsed Julian, as a brave strong Wall does a sorry Engine, that is plaid against it. Now if Julians Army were Christians, and above 7000 of them repulsed Julian with their Passive Valour as a strong Wall does a sorry Engine, was it not a great Contradiction, and great Disingenuity in Mr. J. to represent them as Few, and Defenceless, and their Passive Obedience, as performed by them upon mere Necessity, and Force ?

It is usual among the Ecclesiastical Writers to set forth the Constancy of the Martyrs, and Confessors by the Metaphor of

240

The Preface.

*of a Pillar or Wall. Thus the Christians of Lyons, and Vienna in their (1) Epistle in which they give an Account of their Sufferings, say, That the Grace of God did fight in them against the Devil, and fortifie the Weak, and set up *σύλκας ἰσχυράς*, Firm Pillars among them, who by their Patience, and Constancy drew all the Assaults of the Devil upon themselves. This I have observed for the sake of the Common Readers of Julian, some of which, to my knowledge, understood that Phrase of Repelling Julian, as a brave strong Wall, in the Sense, wherein Mr. J. perhaps designed they should take it, for Active, and not for Passive Resistance; which puts me in mind of Hugh Peters, who preached up Rebellion on those Words, Heb. 12. 4. Ye have not yet resisted unto Blood.*

But to Instance in another of his Contradictions, p. 21. he cites Eusebius for saying, That Constantius Chlorus put
d over

The Preface.

over the Inheritance of the Empire, by the Law of Nature to his Eldest Son Constantine; *Where by that Phrase, past over, he would have his Reader (or else it is nothing to the purpose) understand Entailed: And yet p. 1. he cites the same Author again, for saying that Constantine at his death gave to his Eldest Son* ὃν παππῶν ἀνέξιν, *(which should be rendered) his Grandfathers share, and not, that part which came by his Ancestors, as our Author doth. But now if Constantius Chlorus Entailed, or Past over the Inheritance of the Empire by the Law of Nature to his Eldest Son Constantine M. how could he give it at his death to his Eldest Son Constantine the second? I desire to know of Mr. J. or Mr. H. who is Fitter to Resolve the Question, If a Man can succeed to the same Estate both as Heir by Testament, and Entail.*

The Admirers of Julian, whereof some pretend to be great Masters of
Rea.

The Preface.

Reason, *might with half an Eye purged of Bad Humours, have discerned these, and all other Inconsistencies, which I have observed in this following Answer, but by some of them, who took so much Pains to Recommend, and Disperse the Book, we find the Proverb true by Experience, That there is none so Blind, as those who will not See.*

I had almost forgot to tell the Reader, that when I declared in the Introduction, That I was well satisfied with the Authors Comparison of Popery, and Paganism, I had not observed, that he seems to deny the Truth of this Proposition, That the Church of Rome is a True Church of Christ, only Corrupt.

This I thought necessary to observe, lest I should be thought to side with Mr. J. against the most Learned Reformers in that Particular, which I declare I do not, believing the Church of Rome to be a True Church, as a Man that hath the
d 2
Plague,

The Preface.

Plague, or Leprosie is a True Man. If I were not of this Opinion, I should be puzzled to tell, how the Church of England, which was once, as Antichristian, as It, came to be a True Church; or how the Romish Church her self should come to be true, if She did Reform.

I shall add no more, but only tell the Author of Julian, who Thrafo-like hath Despised this Answer before he saw it, That I as much Despise his Great Boasts. Confidence, and Hectoring I know, are sometimes Serviceable to a Coward in Sword-quarrels, but what Influence they may have in Conflicts of the Pen, I am such a Novice in writing Controversies, that, I profess, I cannot tell. However, if he, or any other Person, will make a Fair, Close, and Substantial Answer to what I have here written, they will Oblige me by the Performance, and the World may reap Advantage from a Plain, and Solid Management of the Matters of Controversie between us. But if instead

LXXV

The Preface.

of such an Answer, as I hope this of mine is, they shall but shuffle, and prevaricate, and take Sanctuary in Cavil, Satyr, and Scurrility, I shall think my self obliged to pass over such kind of Replies in Silence, and Contempt.

T H E

The Preface

of this on the 1st of the month of
June 1841, they have been
examined, and found to be
correct, and I have
myself designed to
publish in volume 1, the

1841

THE
CONTENTS.

The Introduction. p. 1.

CHAP. I.

The Roman Empire not Hereditary. p. 5.

CHAP. II.

*Of the Behaviour of the Christians towards
Julian.* p. 84.

CHAP. III.

*Of the Behaviour of the Christians towards
Julian in Words.* p. 93.

CHAP. IV.

*Of the Behaviour of the Christians towards
Julian in their Actions,* p. 115.

CHAP.

The Contents:

CHAP. V.

*Of the Behaviour of the Christians to-
wards Julian in their Devotions, and
first of their Psalms.* p. 126.

CHAP. VI.

Of their Prayers and Tears. p. 137.

CHAP. VII.

Of Julians Death. p. 154.

CHAP. VIII.

*Shewing, That the Christian Subjects of
Julian practised Passive Obedience, when
they were in an Able Condition to Resist.*
p. 164.

CHAP. IX.

*Shewing, That the Former Christians be-
fore the time of Julian suffered as much,
or more than Julians Subjects did, not only,
without, but Contrary to Law.* p. 186.

CHAP. X.

*Wherein is defended the Doctrine of Pas-
sive Obedience against Law.* p. 199.

CHAP.

The Contents.

CHAP. XI.

*Wherein are further considered the Reasons
for Passive Obedience, or Non-Resistance;
and wherein it is shewn, that Resistance
would be a Greater Mischief, than Pas-
sive Obedience.* p. 239.

CHAP. XII.

*Wherein is shewed, That notwithstanding
this Doctrine of Non-resistance or Passive
Obedience, we are Secure enough of our
Lives, Properties, and Religion.* p. 263.

The Conclusion.

p. 282.

For

CHAP. XI.

But the further considered the Reasons
for Passive Obedience, or Non-Resistance;
and wherein it is shown, that Resistance
would be a Greater Mischief, than Pas-
sive Obedience. p. 239.

CHAP. XII.

Wherein is shew'd, That notwithstanding
the Doctrine of Non-Resistance or Passive
Obedience, we are secure enough of our
Lives, Properties, and Religion. p. 263.

p. 263.

The Conclusion.

For the Readers Ease in Examining my Citations, I thought Good to give Him this Account of the Editions I have made Use off.

I gnatius.	Oxon. 1644. 47.
Tertullianus.	Paris. 1641.
Cyprianus.	Oxon. 1682.
Eusebius.	Hist. Eccl. Paris. 1659.
Socrates & } Sozomen }	per Hen. Paris. 1668.
Theodoretus, } Philostorg. }	Valesium Paris. 1673.
Athanasius.	Par. 1627.
Hilarius.	Par. 1631.
Greg. Nazianz.	Par. 1630.
Epiphanius.	Par. 1622.
	Luci-

Lucifer Calarit. *In Biblioth. Patrum.*
 Gelasius Cyzicen. *Octavo. Paris. 1601.*
 Lactantius. *Lugd. Bat. 1660.*
 — De Mortibus Persecutorum. *Oxon.*
 Zonaras. *Basil. 1557.*
 Cedrenus. *Basil. 1563.*
 Suidas. *Col. Allob. 1619.*
 Bocharti Epistola. *Octavo. 1650.*
 Versio Gregor. Nazianz. citata p. 120.
Extat in Biblioth. Coll. Sion.
 Plutarchus. *Franc. 1620.*
 Tacitus. *Per Lipsium Antwerp. 1668.*
 { Eutropius.
 { Xiphilinus. } *Per Sylburgium Franc.*
 { Herodianus. } *1590.*
 { Zosimus. }
 Libanius. *Par. 1627.*
 Theophilus Antecessor. *Par. 1638.*
 Ammianus Marcellinus. *Par. 1681.*
 Eumenius inter XIV. Panegyricos.
Paris. 1643.
 Pomponius Lætus inter Hist. Rom.
 Script. *In Oct. Editos per H. Steph.*
1568.
 Aure.

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601. Aurelius Victor. *Lugd. Bat.*
660. Julius Capitolinus. }
xon. Fl. Vopiscus. } *Inter Hist. Aug.*
557. Trebell. Pollio. } *Scriptores. Lug.*
563. Lampridius. } *Batav.*
319. Spartianus. }
650. Book of Homilies. *London. 1623.*
20. Acts and Monuments. *London. 1610.*
The Tryals of the Regicides. *London.*
1679.
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The

Engl. Mus.

Inter. Hist. Mus.
Scrip. Mus.
Barn.

London 1853.
London 1850.
London 1850.
1853.

Arch. Mus.
Vop. Mus.
Arch. Mus.
Vop. Mus.

London 1853.
London 1850.
London 1850.
1853.

*The Reader is desired to Correct the following Mistakes
of the Press.*

P.3.l.23. *read* handing. p.27.l.21.*r.* successful against. p.81.l.14.
for two *r.* three. p.88.l.13. *r.* Legal Absolute. p.89.l.21. for. Zof. *r.*
Soz. p.96.l. antepen. that *they* did. p.119.l.3. for that *r.* than. p.121.
for credible *r.* possible. p.201.l.18. ἀντιθυθυθυθ. p.214.l.33. ἀντιθυ-
θυθ. p.241.l.6.*r.* only Subject. *ib.* l.31. controlling. p.252.l.13. dele
not. p.257.l.11.*r.* yet let alone. p.296. dele *while* *be.* p.299.l.4. for
that *r.* which. *ib.* l.17. for safety *r.* duty.

Besides these there are many Faults in the Margent, especially in
the *Greek*, the most considerable are Collected and Subjoyned. The
lesser Faults, I mean in *Spirits, Accents*, and Letters of like Figure,
particularly the Mistake of the double Consonant *ς* for *σ*, the
Learned Reader will easily observe, and, I hope, as easily pardon.

P.7.l.17.734. l.21.736. p.8.l.1.736. p.16.l.13. consalutatur. p.
21.l.10. agere : triumphavit. l.15. consulatibus. p.22.l.10. *ix.* p.24.
l.16. Πωμαίη. p.42.l.10. l.1.c.26. p.75.l.27. pro ἀντίθε lege ἀντίθε.
p.76.l.5. Sozom. l.4. p.739. p.87.l.6. ἐναγν. p.89.l.12. Socr. l.3.c.3.
Sozom. l.5.c.7. p.103. l.14. φάμωσσοις. Ibid. Ex Joan. Antiocheno
Excerpt. per *H. Vales.* Ed. 1634. p.845. p.105.l.10. lege c. 1 p.
137. Ibid. c.1. p.155. p.108.l.1. Gelaf. Cyz. p.148.l.11 Socrat. l.3. p.
167.l.3. pro ὧν lege ὧς. p.188.l.21. largiter. p.189.l.2. hominem.
p.210.l.8. pro lex, lege Rex. p.256.l.14. antequam.

The

1941

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 1, 1861. It is a formal address, and it begins with the words "My Countrymen," which is a traditional way of addressing the people in a formal document. The letter is written in a formal, dignified style, and it is signed by the President, James Buchanan.

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THE
INTRODUCTION.

THe Apostacy of *Julian* the Emperor did not perhaps make a greater Noise in the Cities of the *Roman* Empire, than the Short Account of his Life, called, *Julian the Apostate*, did in the City of *London* at its First Publication. It started from the Press, as Racers usually do from the Post, with a great and mighty Shout, and was attended all along with loud Acclamations of men set on purpose to cry it up in all Places, as indeed they apparently combine to disperse, and cry up any thing, that is plausibly written against the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, the *Succession*, or any of the *Rights of Sovereignty*, which keep the Crown firm upon the Kings Head.

O! saith Mr. *Nelth*. the very Morning, that *Julian* came out, to two or three Gentlemen, Have you seen *Julian*? It is an Unanswerable Piece, it hath quite undone your Pleas for Succession, and your Passive Obedience; and it is written by a Church-Divine, and we thank God, that there is one among



mong them, who is not for enslaving the People.

And saith the worthy Son of as worthy a Peer who was a Spectator at that Riotous Election of Sheriffs (when they jostled my Lord Mayor, and cried, *Take away the Sword*) God, here's a Company of Brave Fellows, O that *Joh.* were here to preach *Julian* unto them! And saith Mr. P. to Mr. B. a Minister holding up *Julian* in his Hand. Have you seen this Book? What Book, saith he. *Julian the Apostle* replies Mr. P. it was this day presented to my Lord, and he says it is an Admirable Piece. To be short, *Julian* was the Oracle of the Cause, the Pocket-Book of all the Party; it was carried to *Change* and *Coffee-Houses* in Triumph, and at last called in Print by the (*)

(*) 4. vol. n. 30. *Courantier*, the *Plaguy Unanswerable Julian*.

The Author of it hath boasted to several that it had the Approbation of Sir W. J. whom I suppose he means in his Preface by that great Assertor of Religion and Laws now with God: Mr. H. hath also own'd that he perus'd it in the Manuscript, and these Mens Breath conspiring in his Praises with the Breath of the People, have blown him into such a Conceit of his Performance, that he hath challenged the World to Answer it, and expose him to open shame, if he have done amiss.

Having heard of these, and many other things about *Julian*, I got the Book, and at the first cursory perusal discerned, as I thought, many contradictions and much fallacious Reasoning in it: upon this I took Heart and read it again more observantly, and then plainly

The Introduction.

3

plainly saw that it was not Unanswerable, though it was a very cunning and malicious piece. The Author of it shews what Company he keeps by his scurrilous and irreverent Phrases: I can never think of the following Passages, *the* (†) *slavish Principle of Passive Obedience*, (†) p. 89. *the* (||) *bloody Doctrine of Passive Obedience*, (||) p. 78. *the* * *Doctrine of the Bow-string*, (†) p. 30. *the* (†) *Mountebank receipt of Prayers*, and (||) p. 78. *and Tears*, *the* old *Lacrymist*, (||) p. 88. *the* (*) *wheeling of men out of their Lives*, (†) p. 91. *and* (†) *the making the World for Banditti by it*, and *the many more Exceptions against their Artillery of Prayers*, and *Tears*, I say, I can never think of these and many more of his Lampoons upon the Doctrine of the Cross, but they make me think of the *Appeal*, and *Fitz-harris his Libel*, and that the Spirit of that Author hath passed into this.

These and such like scurrilous Expressions of his in Religious Matters, as (||) *the handling of Prayers like Brickbats out of a Cart* (||) p. 127. determine my Thoughts to *Lambswooll*, and such like Stories, and make me fear, that the Author hath lost the meek and serious Temper of a Divine in that sort of Company: Indeed he hath shewed himself to be a man of great Parts and Contrivance from the beginning of the Preface to the end of the Book, both of which are so Artificially and Plausibly written, that they must needs deceive all persons that are either unable, or unwilling to examine them, and it is for the Sake of such, especially of the former, that I have taken

The Introduction.

the First Part of the Book to task: For as for the Comparison of Popery and Paganism I do assure him that the Author of this following Answer, and (*) I believe all the rest that have so thundered of late with the Thebean Legion, bating some irreverent Phrales, are as well satisfied with it, as he himself is.

CHAP.

lit.

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Octavius by
his Se-
nd Wife.

Flavia,

C. Caesar, who married *Livia* Sister of *Germanicus*.

L. Caesar.

Agrippa Posthu-

Julia, married to
L. Æmilius Paulus, by whom

Æmilius Lepidus, who married
Drusilla. *Dio*. l. 59.

Emilia Lepida, betrothed to *Claudius*. *Sueton. Claud. c. 26.* and perhaps the same who was married after to *Drusus* the Son of *Germanicus*. *Tacit. l. 6. c. 40.*

Cajus Octavius, afterwards Augustus Caesar of Scribonia had

Julia, who had
3 Husbands ;
1. Marcus Mar-
cellus. 3. Tibe-
rius the Empe-
ror, sine Prole
2. Vipsanius A-
grippa, b
whom,

grippina, married to *Cæsar Germanicus*, by whom

Nero, who married Julia the Daughter of Drusus. Tacit. l. 6. c. 27.

~~Drusus~~, who married *Emilia*
Levin *da.*

C. Caligula Imper.
Agrippina, who had 3. Husbands,
Cn. Domitius, by whom she
 had *Nero* the Emperor; *Crispus*
Passienus, and *Claudius* the Em-
 peror, who adopted her Son
Nero.

Drusilla, who had two Husbands,
1. *L. Cassius*. 2. *M. Annio*
Lepidus.

Livia, called by *Suetonius*, *Livia*;
by *Tacitus*, and *Dio*, *Julia*.

These following came into the House of Augustus by Adoption; Thus:

the Empe-
married *Livia*
Silla, the Re-
of *T. Claudius*
, by whom
had 2 Sons ;

Tiberius Nero, adopted by *Augustus*, who had two Wives, I. *Vipsania Agrippina*, Daughter of *M. Vipsanius Agrippa*, by whom

II. *Julia, the Daughter of Augustus. Sine Prole, vel proles Infans extincta.*

Drusus, who married *Livia* or *Livilla*, Sister of *Germanicus*, by whom

Tiberius, surnamed *Gemellus*, slain by *Caligula* and his Twin-Brother, who died at Years old.

Julia, who married
Rubbilius Blandus, by
whom

Rubbilius Plautus
whom Nero fl

whom Nero fl

Drusus Nero Germanicus,
who married *Antonia,*
the Daughter of *Marcus Antonius* the *Triumvir,* by whom

Germanicus Caesar, who married *Agrippina*, as before set down.

Livilla, or *Livia*, who married *C. Cesar*; then *Drusus* her Cousin; and at last was betrothed to *Sejanus*.

& *Claudius* the Emperor, whose first Wife was *Plautia Urgulanilla*, of whom

II. *Ælia Petina*, by whom

III. *Valeria Messalina*, by
whom

Drusus, to whom was betroath
Daughter of *Sejanus*. *Su'r. Claud*
Claudia, whom he cast off.

Antonia, who had two Husbands
pius, whom *Claudius* killed, and
Stus Sulla.

Octavia, who was first betrothed to Silanus, and after married to Augustus Emperor.

(*Claudius Britannicus*, killed by N

CHAP. I.

The Roman Empire not Hereditary.

I shall begin with his Second Chapter, where treating of the Right, and Title of *Julian*, he so glozes the Matter, as to make common Readers think, that the Succession in the Roman Empire was of the same Nature that it is in *England*, and that *Julian* in particular was Heir to the Imperial Purple in the same sense that his *R. H.* is to the *British Crown*.

To proceed (saith he) more faithfully, and clearly in this Matter, it will be necessary to consider how the Succession stood, and what Right, and Title *Julian* had to succeed to the Empire, and then whether the Christians would have been willing to set aside this Title, and to have excluded him purely for his Religion. And in the first place there is nothing more plain, than that the Empire was Hereditary.

This he endeavours to prove against Matter of Fact by some Authorities which I shall hereafter consider, and by the boldness of his Assertion, and the fallacious use of such Phrases as *foreclosing of Julian*, *excluding of him*, and *setting aside his Title upon the account of Religion*, it is no wonder if vulgar Readers did imagine, that the Empire descended like the Imperial Crown of *England* in an Hereditary manner upon the next of the Blood.

It concerned him very much to impose this upon his Reader, for if the Empire was not *indeed Hereditary*, then the Case of a Popish Successor in *England*, and of the *Pagan* Successor to *Constantinus* will prove so very different, that our admired Author who builds upon that Principle, will himself I hope acknowledge, that he hath conjured up the Ghost of his *Julian* to no purpose, and wrote his *Plaguy Book* in vain.

Therefore (in his own words) *To proceed more faithfully and clearly in this Matter*, it will be necessary to consider how the Succession stood in the *Roman Empire*, and in the first place there is nothing more plain than the Contradiction of his Assertion, *that the Empire was not Hereditary*, but that the Succession to the Imperial Throne was *Elective, Casual, Uncertain, and Arbitrary*; and this I will shew by giving a brief Account of it from *Julius* to *Julian*, wherein the impartial Reader shall see how much this *unanswerable Man* did prevaricate, when he told his Reader, that there was nothing more plain (not that two and two are four)) *than that the Empire was Hereditary*.

Julius Caesar

Julius Caesar returning Victorious to Rome from

(†) Florus l. 4. c. 2.

Ep. lib. 116.

&c Dio. l. 44.

(l) Ibidem.

the Conquest of the *Pompees* was (†) received with all manner of Publick Joy, and Respect. The Senate, as (||) *Anthony* the Consul told them, in

his Funeral Oration, honoured him as a Father, and loved him as a Benefactor, and decreed him such Honors, as they never did to any other Man, and thought all too little for him. They desired to have

have him for the (*) *Perpetual Prefect* of the City and Empire, and for this reason they invested him with the Civil, Military, and Ecclesiastical Supremacy, for they (†) created him *Consul*, (||) *perpetual Dictator*, *General*, and *Chief Pontif*, and after all publickly acknowledged him *Pater Patriæ*, or Father of the Country, the more to endear him to the People.

Besides all this, they decreed, That he should always wear the *Triumphant Stole*, ride in the *Triumphant Chariot*, and that the *Lictors* should carry *Crowns* of Lawrel before him : Moreover they caused Money to be coyned with his Image, they set him up two Statues in the *great Oratory*, and one in all the *Temples of Rome*, and made him (*) sole and perpetual Censor, and last of all decreed him a *Golden Throne*, and a *Monument*, and a Guard of *Senators* and *Gentlemen*, as the *Kings* of old used to have. The Guards indeed he refused, however these *Royal Honours* of the *Senate*, (†) together with some pretended *Prophecies*, made the People Salute him *King*, which Title he privately affected, though he durst not openly admit it; for when (||) *Anthony* the *Consul* after this saluted him by the Title of *King* in the Name of all the

(*) προέστην διατελῆ
της τε πόλεως, καὶ
της αρχῆς αἰπάσης. ib.

(†) ὑπάλος διὰ πρὸς ἡ-
μᾶς, ἀποκρατορ δὲ
πρὸς τὸς ἐρασιώτας,
δικτάτορ δὲ πρὸς τὸς
πολεμῶν ἐπεδείχθη.
ib.

(||) δικτατορα μὲν αὐ-
τὸν ἐπέδειξαν διὰ
βίης. τῷ δὲ ἦν ὁμο-
λογημένη τιμῆς, τῷ
ἀναπευθύνῳ τῆς μο-
ναρχίας τὸ ἀκατά-
παυστον περιλαβέσης.
Plutarch. p. 734.

(||) πινυτὴν καὶ μόνον,
καὶ διὰ βίης εἶναι.

(†) Plutarch. edit.
Franc. p. 736.

(||) Florus. lib. 4. c. 2.
Dio. lib. 44.

People, and tied the Royal Diadem about his Head, he shew'd no displeasure (saith *Dio*) at the Action, but only replyed, *That Jupiter was the King of the Romans*, to whom in Compliment he sent the Diadem to be hung up in his Temple. But however he declined the Title of King, he began to treat the Senate as their Sovereign; for when they came one day to him, as he was sitting in the Temple of his Mother *Venus*, to tell him what Honours they had enacted for him, he would not rise up, but received them, and their Message (*)

(*) Plutarch. p. 736.
Dio l. 44.

upon his Breech, which very much offended the Senate, and others, and gratified the Con-

spirators, who now thought it a seasonable time to put their Bloody Design in Execution, and accordingly not long after they dispatched him in the Senate as another (†) *Tarquin*, be-

(†) *Brutus & Cassius*
sic Cæsarem quasi Tar-
quinium depulisse regno
videbantur, Flor. l. 4.
c. 7.

fore he could settle himself in the Throne.

The Fall of *Caesar* contrary to the Expectation of the Conspirators was much lamented by the People, who began to be enraged against them after his

(||) Sueton. c. 83.

(||) *Will* was published, for he named many of the Conspirators Tutors of his Children, if he should have had any; *Brutus* in particular he had put in the second Order of his Heirs, and gave to the People of *Rome* some Gardens upon the Banks of *Tyber*, and a Dole of 300 Sesterces a man. After the Funeral, which was was performed

(*) Plutarch. p. 740.

with all Magnificence and Solemnity, the (*) People run in

hast to fire the Houses of *Brutus*, and *Cassius*, and
Octavius

Octavius taking this advantage of the People, and *Armies* Affection to his Father, and obliging them to his Interest more firmly by Gifts, pursued *Brutus* and *Cassius* the chief Conspirators, who (†) killed themselves because they would not fall alive into his Hands.

(†) Plutarch. 740, 741.

Octavius was then (||) *Triumvir*, or one of the Three, who govern'd all, *Lepidus* and *Marc Anthony* were the other two, but *Lepidus* being laid aside, *Octavius*, and *Anthony* ruled all, till growing Jealous of one another, they fell out into open War, and *Octavius* surviving Conqueror after the Victory at *Actium*, had now all in his own Power.

(||) *Ordinata magis ut poterat, quam ut debebat, in triumviros republicâ*, Flor. l. 4. c. 7. vid. Dion. l. 46.

Being now absolute Lord without Competitor, he had some thoughts after his Return to *Rome* of (*) resigning his Power to the Senate and People, and restoring the *Roman* Liberty again. Being

(*) Dio. l. 52.

uncertain what to resolve, he consults *Agrippa*, and *Macenas*: *Agrippa* speaks first and offers many plausible Reasons, why he should not assume the Monarchy; But *Macenas* spoke last, replies to the plausible Reasons of *Agrippa*, and shews the way how he might easily govern the *Roman* Empire. The same year he assumes the Title of

(†) Emperor, not in a Military Sense, as *Dio* observes, but as it signified the plenitude of Civil Power, and Command, in which Sense it had been decreed unto *Julius* and the Sons of his Body. Then he proceeds as Colleague of *Agrippa* the Censor, to visit the Senate, wherein

(†) Dio, l. 53,

find.

finding many *bare Gentlemen and Plebeians*, who had crept into it, during the Civil Wars, he turned them out, and having restored the Senate to its ancient Dignity, and so obliged the Fathers, he applies himself to get them to make him Emperor; and to that end sets out an Edict to dissolve the Power of the *Triumvirat*, which was so odious to the People; and then being made the first time Consul, he comes into the Reformed Senate, whereafter he had declared the greatness of his Power, and how easily he could keep it, he desires leave to Resign it all unto them, telling them, That as it was the Glory of his Father *Julius* to refuse the Monarchical Power, which they offered him: So it would be his, to part with it, even when he was in possession thereof.

But the Fathers, some of them suspecting that he disssembled, others certainly knowing that he did so, and others again being weary of the Commonwealth, and all desiring Peace, to which they knew

he was inclined, (||) beseeched him to take the Government upon him, and when he refused, they urged him to do so with many Arguments, and forced him as it were to be their (*) *Prince*. The

(*) *Nomine Principis sub Imperium accipit,*
Tacit. An. l. i.

(†) *Neq; provincia illorum rerum statum abnucebant suspecto Senatibus populiq; imperio obcertamina potentium,*
Annal. l. 2.

Provinces also, as (†) *Tacitus* tells us, consented, being grown weary of the Contests of the Great Men under the Commonwealth. But *Cesar* that he might decline all envy, and effectually gain the Good Will of the People, politickly refused to take upon him the Government of the whole Empire, but chose the most Unpeaceable

able Provinces, especially those upon the Borders, and left the more peaceable to the Care of the Senate, and furthermore would take the Monarchy upon him but for 10 Years. But he knew very well, that if he had the Administration of the Troublesome Provinces, where the Legions were, he could command the rest when he pleased, and that if he Reigned quietly the first ten Years, he could, as it proved; reign his whole Life.

After he had accepted of the Government, the Senate among many other Honours, would have decreed him the Title of (||) *Romulus*, as being the Founder of the Second Roman Monarchy, but he declining the Envious Name of a King, chose the Venerable Title of *Augustus*.

(||) *Tractatum etiam in Senatu, an quia condidisset Imperium, Romulus vocaretur, Florus l. 4. c. 17.*

Augustus
Cæsar.

Augustus being thus advanced to the Empire, began to contrive how he might secure the Succession to his own Relations, among whom he had a great Love for *Caius* and *Lucius* his Grandsons, and his Wives two Sons *Tiberius* and *Drusus*. To the two former he gave the Titles of General, and to the two latter the Titles of *Princes of the Tomb*; and though they were not as yet 17 years old, he designed to have them made Consuls. But *Caius* and *Lucius*, and *Drusus* dying not long after, *Tiberius* was now the only Expectant of the Empire, and all mens Eyes were turned upon him. Indeed there was yet remaining another Grandson of *Augustus*, Brother to *Caius*, and *Lucius*, *Agrippa Posthumus*, but he being of a stupid and brutish Disposition, the Empress in favour of her Son, easily perswaded the old Emperor to banish him into the Island *Planasia*: There he remained while *Tiberius* was Adopted by *Augustus*,

stinus, made Partner with him in the Empire, and in the Tribuneship, and shew'd openly unto the Legions, as one that was designed for their Future Prince. A little before *Augustus* died it was discoursed, that he intended to restore *Agrippa*, which made many fear that a Civil War might arise between him and *Tiberius* after the Emperors death. But as soon as *Augustus* died, he was upon private Orders dispatched by his Keeper, so that *Tiberius* having no

Tiberius

(*) *Romæ ruere in servitium* Consules, Patres, Eques, Tacit. An. l. i

of all sorts strove who should shew themselves most ready to obey him. The two Consuls first of all took an Oath of Allegiance unto him, then they required it of the Captain of the Guards, and the Providor General, then of the Senators, afterwards of the Souldiers, and last of all of the People.

After the Funeral of his Father *Augustus* was over, the Senate, as he very much

(†) *Dabat & famæ ut vocatus electusq; potius a repub. videretur, quam per uxorium ambitum & senili adoptione irrepisse*, ib.

(‖) *Precantem Senatum & procumbentem sibi ad genua* — Suet. 24. *Patres in questus lacrymas, vota effundi ad Deos, ad effigiem Augusti, ad genua ipsius manus tendere*, Tacit.

(*) *Tandem quasi coactus*, — Suet. 24.

(†) desired, in a most (‖) suppliant manner begg'd him to take the Government upon him; and the more he seem'd to refuse it, the more importunate they were with him, to accept it; so that at last he seem'd to take it upon him, as a man doth a (*) Burden upon his Back, meerly to comply with their Desires.

(†) He

He had two Sons: One natural by his Wife *Agrippina* Daughter of *Vipsanius A-* who was called *Drusus*, other by Adoption, the Gal-*Germanicus* his (||) Brother his eldest Son. They died and left Sons, *Germanicus* three, *Nero*, *Drusus*, and *Julia*: *Drusus* one, *Tiberius* *Drusus*, taken off by *Caligula*, he came to be Emperor, as *Tiberius* had foretold. (†) *Nero Drusus* his two eldest Grand-children recommended to the Senate but because the Favour of the Senate and People too came fast upon them, he afterwards (||) procured their death. At this time he was grown old and Infirm, but could not resolve who^m to Choose and recommend for his Successor: He hated *Caligula* because he was so dear to the People and the Army for the sake of his Father *Germanicus*, who lived, and died their Darling and especially because the Young Men began to make their Fortune too soon unto him, which he him tell *Macro* (†) That he forsook the setting to wor-

(†) *Filiorum neque naturalem Drusum, neque adoptivum Germanicum patriâ charitate dilexit.*

(||) *Germanicum Druso ortum adsciri per adoptionem à Tiberio iussit, quanquam esset in domo Tiberii filius juvenis, Tacit. An. 1.*

(*) *Crebris cum lachrymis minorem ex nepotibus complexus truci alterius vultu occidit hunc tu (inquit) & te alius, Tacit. An. 1. 6. 46.*

(||) *Sueton. 54. Tacit. An. 1. 4. 60, 61. 1. 6. 22, 23, 24.*

(||) *Gnarus hoc principi, eoque dubitavit de tradenda repub. primum inter nepotes, quorum Druso genitus sanguine & charitate propior, sed nondum pubertatem ingressus Germanici filio robur juvenis vulgi studia, eaque apud arum odii causa. Etiam de Claudio agitant, quod is compositâ etate bonarum artium cupiens erat, imminuta mens ejus obstitit. Sin Extra domum Successor quereretur, ne memoria Augusti, ne nomen Cæ-*

am in Ludibria, & contumelias verteret, metuebat, Tac. An. 6. 46. 1. 6. 1. 56. (†) Occidentem ab eo deserui, orientem spectari exprobravit.

ship

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Rival, the (*) *Servile Roman* of all sorts strove who should shew themselves most ready to obey him. The two Consuls first of all took an Oath of allegiance unto him, then they required it of the Captain of the Guards, and the Provisor General, and of the Senators, afterwards of the Souldiers, last of all of the People. After the Funeral of his Father *Augustus* was over, the Senate, as he very n (†) desired, in a most (‡) pliant manner begg'd him to take the Government upon him, and the more he seem'd to refuse it, the more importun they were with him, to accept it; so that at last he seem'd to take it upon him, as a mandatory Burden upon his Back, meerly to comply with their Desires.

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ship

ship the Rising Sun. For this Reason he sometimes thought to set up *Tiberius* his Grandson by *Drusus* (who was nearest to him in Blood and Affection) to prevent *Caligula*, but could not well do it, because he was not yet 14 years old. Sometimes he thought of his Nephew *Claudius* brother to *Germanicus*, who was of full Age, and of a Studious Disposition, but had not Parts sufficient for the Government of the Empire. Sometimes again he thought of Nominating a *Stranger* for his Successor, but that he was loath to do, because it would have been so great a Scandal and Reproach to the Name, and Family of the *Cæsars*; and in this incertitude growing weaker and weaker, he would name none, but left the matter to the Fates.

Caligula

He died of a lingering Sickness, which gave *Caligula*, the Darling of the City and Provinces upon the Account of his Father *Germanicus*, opportunity of securing the Succession to himself, although he was (||) never named nor appointed his Successor by *Tiberius*, but only adorned by him with some Honours, as if he had intended him for his Successor.

(||) τὸν Γάϊον ὁ Τιβέριος ἐπέβαλε ἀποδείξαις ἐπὶ νηυσὶ καὶ πλοῖσι ὡς Διάδοχον αὐτὸν τῆς Μοναρχίας ἔξωθεν ἐνεδείκνυτο, Dio. l. 58.

(†) Τῷ Τιβερίῳ τῷ ἐκγόνῳ τὴν αὐταρχίαν κατέλιπεν ὁ δὲ Γάϊος τὰς διαθήκας αὐτοῦ &c. l. 59. In principio

(†) Nay *Dio* tells us for certain that *Tiberius* in his last Will and Testament bequeathed the Empire to his Young Grandson *Tiberius*; But *Caligula* by his Interest in the Consuls and other Senators, got it declared void in the Senate, as being made by the Emperor, when he was not *compos mentis*, as it did appear by his bequeathing the Empire to a Boy, who was not of age to be a Senator.

The

The Will of *Tiberius* being declared void, *Caligula* comes to *Rome*, where by the Joynt (||) Consent of the Senate, and the People, who rushed into the Senate-house, he was declared Emperor. Never any Prince came with more (†) advantage to the Crown, but never Prince more disappointed the Expectation of the People, being one of the greatest Monsters of Vice that ever the World saw. He had not reigned quite 4 years before his destruction was designed and effected by *Cherea*, and *Sabinus* in the Palace, and after he was slain the Consuls having placed Guards in all Parts of the City, convened the Senate into the Capitol.

The Senate being set, some were for (||) restoring the Commonwealth, and abolishing the Memory of the *Cæsars*; others were for continuing the Monarchy, but differed in the Nomination of the Persons, whom they would have succeed unto it; and so spent all that day, and the next night in Uncertain Debates.

In the mean while the Souldiers plundering, and ransacking the Palace, found *Claudius*, the Brother of *Germanicus*, who had hid himself in that Distraction, and as soon as they knew who it was, they, besides his Expectation, Saluted him Emperor, and took him to the Camp, where he was made Emperor by the Choice of the whole Army, because he was a Good Man, and of the Imperial House. The

Consuls

(||) *Ingressoq; urbem, statim consensu Senatûs, & irrumpentis in curiam turbæ, jus arbitriumq; omnium rerum illi permissum est, Sueton. 14.*

(†) *Exceptatissimus princeps maxime parti provincialium, quod infantem plerique cognoverant, sed & universæ plebi Urbane ob memoriam Germanici Patris, Sueton. 13.*

(||) *Dio l. 60. In principio. Sueton. 60.*

Claudius

Consuls hearing this, sent the *Tribunes of the people* to charge him not to take the Empire upon him, but to remain under the Obedience of the Senate and the People; but the Army standing firm to their New Emperor, they were forced to consent, and to choose him Emperor too.

(II) Tacit. l. 12. 4, 5.
Dio. l. 60.

(†) *Claudius Britannicus* By *Messalina*, vid.
Sueton. 27.
Dio. l. 60.

Claudius after the death of *Messalina* (II) married his own Niece *Agrippina* Daughter to his Brother *Germanicus*, and Mother to *Nero*; and she had the ascendancy so much over him, as to make him Adopt her Son, although he (†) had a Son of his

own. After his Adoption she prevailed with him to marry her to his own Daughter *Octavia*, although she was betrothed to another Man.

Nero

After this she laboured all she could to secure the Succession unto *Nero*; and being Jealous of *Britannicus*, whose Interest the Emperors great Favourite, and her Enemy *Narcissus* openly owned, she took Advantage of her Husbands first Sickness to poison him; and concealing his Death for some time, ordered all things in the interim for the Advantage of *Nero*, who going to the Guards with *Burrhus* their Captain, was at his instance, received with great Acclamations, though some of them

(†) *Dubitarisse quosdam ferunt expectantes, rogitantescq; ubi Britannicus esset*, Tac. An. 12. 69.

(II) *Illatusq; castris Nero Imperator consulatur, sententiam militum secuta patrum consultata, nec dubitatum est apud Provincias*, Tac. An. 12. 60.

discovering another Inclination, (†) asked where *Britannicus* was. From the Guards he was carried in a Chair to the (II) Camp, where having made a Speech

and

and promised great Largesses to the Army, he was chosen Emperor by them, and the Choice was confirmed by the Senate, neither did any of the Provinces refuse him for their *Prince*.

But he proved a Plague to the Empire; and being for his Execrable Tyranny (†) deserted by all Mankind, and declared a publick Enemy by the Senate, at last in despair he laid violent hands upon himself, after he had afflicted the World about 14 years.

He was the (||) last man and Emperor of the Family of the *Cæsars*; wherein it is plain from matter of Fact, that the Emperors had Power to Name or Recommend their Successors, Secondly, that they might name Strangers as well as those of their own Family: And thirdly, that of their own Family they

might prefer their Adopted, before their Natural Sons, and the remoter before the nearer in Blood.

Secondly, It is plain that the Nominated Successors were chosen, First by the Senate who gave the Army *Cæsars*, and then by the Army, who afterwards gave *Cæsars* unto the Senate and People.

Thirdly, That the Senate might choose a Person, who was not nominated by the deceased Emperor, and reject another who was nominated by him. Nay,

Fourthly, That as yet they had a (†) Right to resume the

(†) ὁ παῖς διαπύμα-
λα τις τὴν βαλὴν ἐς
τοὺς πύλους ἤθεσσαν καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα γινώμαι ἐλέχθησαν.
τοῖς μὲν δημοκρατεῖσθαι. τοῖς δὲ μοναρχεῖσθαι ἐδοχε. καὶ οἱ μὲν
τὸν, οἱ δὲ τὸν ἤραντο. Dio. l. 60. in princ. Senatus in afferendâ libertate
ad se consensit—quidam vero abolendum Cæsarium memoriam consue-
runt, Sueton. in Calig. 60.

(||) εἰς αὐτὸν πύμα-
της τῷ Καίσαρι συγ-
γενείας ἢ διαδοχῇ, Eutrop. lib. 7. Progenies
Cæsarium in Nerone de-
fecit, Sueton. in Galb.
1. Finis Juliorum
Claudiorumq; domo :
Galba ad Pison, Tac.
Hist. l. 16.

C

Empire



Empire (had they not been overpowered by the Army) and upon the decease of an Emperor, to give it to a Stranger, as well as to one of *Cæsars* House. And now was not this a brave Hereditary Empire, wherein the Succession to the Crown was so Casual, Irregular, and Arbitrary? and may not a man with as much reason call Black White, a Triangle Square, or any one *Species* by the name of another, as to call this an Hereditary, which was an Irregular Elective Empire, wherein not one of the Emperors, hitherto at least, came to the Crown by virtue of a Lineal Hereditary descent?

I desire the Unanswerable Man to consult his Oracles of Law, and then to tell me if the Succession be in the Royal House of the *Stuarts*, as it was in the House of the *Cæsars*; or if the *Julian* and *Claudian* Princes were born, like ours, unto the

Crown? Indeed the (†) long continuance of the Empire in the Family of the *Cæsars* made it look something like their Inheritance, (||) *quasi hereditas*, as *Galba* told *Piso*, and so the long continuance of it in the House of *Austria* makes it now look

(†) 108 Years.

(||) *Sub Tiberio & Caio, & Claudio unius familie quasi hereditas fuimus.* Tacit. Hist. 1.16.

somewhat like an Inheritance, though it be perfectly Elective, but still at best it is but *quasi hereditas*, as the *French* King understands very well.

But it may be, though it were Elective hitherto, it might afterwards come to be Hereditary? It might so, for any thing that nine parts of ten who cry up *Julian*, know to the contrary; and therefore let us go on with Matter of Fact, to see if it were so, or no?

Nero

Nero being dead, Old *Galba* was chosen to the *Galba* Empire by the (†) *Gaules*, and *Spaniards*, and then by the whole Army, according to the Prediction of (||) *Augustus*, who told him when he was a Boy that he should live to be Emperor. (†) *Dio* tells us, that *Tiberius* also foretold him, that he should live to tast of the Empire; and indeed he did but tast, having reigned but 7 Months according to *Suetonius*, whom *Cedrenus* follows; or according to *Dio* 9, before he was murdered in the *Forum* by the Procurement of *Otho*, who secretly hated him, because he Adopted *Piso*, when he expected that Honour himself.

Galba being slain, his Murderer *Otho* succeeded, being made Emperor not only by the Consent of the Souldiery at *Rome*, but by the (||) Election of the Senate. But about the same time the *German* Legions set up *Vitellius* for Emperor, who marched straight into *Italy*, where near *Verona* he gained a small Victory over *Otho*, who rather than try the Fortune of War the Second time, in the 95th. day of his Reign, or as *Dio* saith, in the 10th Month, he killed himself to prevent the Effusion of *Roman* Blood.

Otho being dead, *Sabinus* the Prefect of *Rome* made all the Souldiers in the City swear Allegiance

(†) Eutrop. l. 7.

(||) Sueton. in *Galba*, 4.

(†) In Ep. Xiphil.

(||) Dio. Xiphil. ἡ-
μένωντων ῥάλλη πάντα
τα πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν φέ-
ροντα ἐψηφίσαντο. Ro-
cat Senatum l. ractor Ur-
banus, accurrunt Pa-
tres, decernitur Otho
tribunitia potestas, no-
men Augusti. Et omnes
Principum honores, Ta-
cit. Hist. l. 1. c. 47.

Vitellius

Otho

(11) *Asinio Sabinus* praefecto urbis, quod erat in urbe militum sacramento *Vitellii* adsum, In Senatu cuncta longis aliorum Principibus composita statim decernuntur, Tacit. Hist. l. 2. c. 55.

(†) Sueton. in Vitell. 15. in Vespes. 6. Dio. Xiph.

marched to *Alexandria*, leaving his Son *Titus* to besiege *Jerusalem*.

(11) *Vid.* Dion. in Xiphil. Eutrop. l. 7. c. 1. Orof. l. 7.

Despair upon what was done by *Sabinus* and *Domitian*, hid himself in a Dog-Kennel, thinking to escape by Night to his Brother at *Tarracina*, but being found by the Souldiers, they brought him with his Hands bound behind him from the Palace to the Forum, where after much contumelious usage they Barbarously put him to death.

Vespasianus

(†) *Roma Senatus cuncta Principibus solita Vespasiano decernit*, Tac. Hist. l. 4. c. 5.

Αὐτοκράτορ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ὁ ἑσπασανδὸς καὶ πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεδείχθη, καὶ καίσαρς ὁ τε *Titus* καὶ ὁ *Domitianus* ἐπεδείχθησαν, Dio.

to *Vitellius*, and the Senate also decreed him all the Power and Honours that any of the Precedent Emperors enjoyed. In the meantime (†) *Vespasian* while he was making War in *Judea*, was created Emperor first by the *Mælian* Legions, then by *Tiberius Alexander* the Governor of *Egypt*, and the Army there, and last of all by the Army in *Judea*, from whence he

(11) He stay'd at *Alexandria* sometime, having sent *Mucianus* and *Domitian* with Forces to *Rome*; but before *Mucian* arrived there, *Vitellius* falling into

He being dead, *Vespasian* was immediately (†) declared Emperor by the Senate; and his two Sons *Titus*, and *Domitian* voted *Cæsars*.

This (*) Fortunate Prince the Favourite of God and Men, made his Son Titus (||) Copartner with him in the Empire; he let him triumph with him in that Famous Triumph over *Jerusalem*; he made him his Colleague in the Censorship and Tribuneship, and in 7 Consulships successively; in a word, he had the whole care of the Empire committed to him: He made Oration in the Senate, dictated Epistles, and signed Edicts with his own Name and his Fathers, and was called Emperor as well as his Father, having been proclaimed so by the Army at the taking of *Jerusalem*. His Father reigned 10 years, and he survived him but two years and two months.

He was succeeded by the Second Nero, his Brother *Domitian*, who was murdered by his own (†) Domestics, the Empress her self being in the Conspiracy, when he had reigned 15 years. The Chief of the Conspirators, besides *Domitia* the Empress, were *Parthenius* and *Sigerus*, Gentlemen of his Bed-Chamber, and *Entellus* his Secretary of State, who coming by a strange Accident to read their Names among others whom the Emperor had destined to Destruction, were resolved to be beforehand with him, but first sought out for a Successor

(*) *Occultâ lege facti, & ostentis ac responsis destinatum Vespasiano, ac liberis ejus imperium post fortunam credimus*, Tacit. Hist. l. 11.

(||) *Neq; ex eo destitit participem, atq; tutorem imperii agere; triumphavit cum patre, censuramq; gessit undâ, eidem Collega & in Tribunitia potestate, & in septem Consulibus fuit, receptaq; ad se omnium officiorum curâ* — Sueton. 6. *Vespasianus & Titus Imperatores* — Orosius l. 7. c. 9. Vid. Dion. Xiph. in Vesp. & Tit.

Titus

Domitian²

(†) *Lactantius de Mort. Persecut. Dio Xiph. Orosius l. 7. c. 10. Sueton. 17.*

to the Empire, and after *Nerva* had promised to take the Government upon him, they put their Design in execution, when he was asleep.

Nerva

Domitian being dead. *Nerva* by the Interest of *Petronius Secundus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and the forementioned *Parthenius*, was declared Emperor

(II) Dio Xiph. Orat. l. 7. 11. Eutrop. l. 8.

(†) Dio Xiph.

*Trajan*²

(*) καὶ τοὶ συγγενῶν τῶ μερῶ ἀντων πνῶν, *ibid*

(II) ὅπ' ἴβνηρ ὁ τετα-
ανὸς, ἀλλ' ἐθ' Ἰταλός,
ἐθ' Ἰταλιώτης ἦν, Dio
Xiph.

by the (II) Senate: He was old and infirm, and died after he had reigned 18 Months. Before he died, he (†) publicly adopted *Trajan* in the Capitol (*) though he had Relations of his own; and afterwards declared him *Cæsar* in the Senate, meerly for his Vertues, though he was no (II) Roman, but a Spaniard, and of obscure Original; and he was the first [*ἀλλοεθνῆς*] *Stranger*, that succeeded to the Imperial Crown.

Here we may see the Skill, or Ingenuity of our Author, who declared this *Incertum & quasi vagum Imperium*, as (†) *Suetonius* once

(†) In Vesp. l.

called it, to be an *Hereditary Empire*, which was fixed to no family, but to which every Free Subject in it, Roman or not Roman, might possibly succeed, as every Freeman in *London*, of what Family or Country soever, may come to be Lord Mayor. Let him go to his great *Myſta* in politics to help him to reconcile the definition of an *Hereditary Empire*, to such a *vagrant and desultory* Succession as I have shewn this to be, if he can do it, I will no longer believe that the Notions of things are fixed and immutable, but that the same Number may be Even and Odd, and the same Element Fire and Water. *The Angels Horns in the*

Vision

Vision of his Mahomet, which were half Snow, and half Fire, are not half so great a Contradiction as such an Hereditary Empire, for the Fire & Snow were *visionary*, or if they were *real*, the Fire might be *lambent* & not melt the Snow, but *Elective* melts down the Notion of *Hereditary* with its very looks, they are utterly inconsistent, and can no more belong to one common Subject, than a Table can be round and square.

But to return to this strange Hereditary Succession; *Trajan* the best of the *Roman* Emperors died after he had reigned 19 years. In his life time he would Adopt none, not *Adrian* his Countryman and nearest Kinsman, who had been bred under him, and married his Niece.

But (†) after he was dead, *Plotina* the Empress, concealing his death, wrote Letters in his Name to the Senate, wherein was declared, That he had Adopted *Adrian*; after which she declared him Emperor, while he was at *Antioch*, of which he was Governour: But before he stirred from thence, he wrote to the Senate to desire them to confirm him in the Empire, which they did, and over

and above (||) gave him the ancient Title of *Pater Patriæ*, and his Wife the Title of *Augusta*.

He first Adopted (†) *Lucius Commodus*, or as *Spartian* calls him

(|) *Ceionius Commodus Verus*; but he dying, he sent for the

Chief of the Senators to his Palace, where he lay very sick, and most earnestly (||) recommend-

ed unto them *Arrius*, or *Aurelius Antoninus*, whom he Adopted, and the Senate forthwith admitted him

C 4

for

(†) Dio Xiph.

(||) Orosius l. 7. c. 13.
Spartian in *Adrian*.

(†) Dio. Xiph.

(||) *Qui & Ælius Verus appellatus est*, *Spartian*.

(||) Dio. Xiph. *Spartian* in *Adriano*.

Arrius on —
Aurelius Antoninus.

(II) Xiph. in Ant. Pio.

(*) The Son of *Ceionius Commodus*, Dio. Xiph. in Adriano. Spart. in *Ælio Vero*. *Huic Pater C. Commodus, quem alii Verum, alii Lucium Aurelium, multi Annium prodiderunt.*

(†) *Sed eâ demum lege, ut ille sibi duos adoptaret Annium Verum, & Marcum Antoninum.* In Adriano.

for their (II) Emperor. *Aurelius Antoninus* being Adopted, and declared Emperor, his Father *Adrian* commanded him presently to Adopt (*) *Annius Verus Antoninus*, and *Marcus Antoninus*: *Spartian* saith that *Adrian* Adopted him upon that (†) Condition, that he should Adopt them. However it was, shortly after these Adoptions *Adrian* died, after he had reigned 20 years.

After he was dead, the *Senate* refused him the Compliment of *Divine Honours*, but upon the Tears and Requests of *Antoninus* they at length decreed them, and gave *Antoninus*, whom *Capitolinus* calls the Second *Numa*, the Titles of *Augustus* and *Pius*, which he very well deserved. He died at his Country House about 12 Miles off *Rome*, after he had reigned according to *Eutropius* 23, but according to *Xiphilin* and *Cedrenus* 24 years, and after his death was Canonized by the unanimous Vote of the *Senate*.

M. Antoninus
Anni Veri An-
toninus
He was succeeded by his two Adopted Sons *Marcus Antoninus*, and *Annius Verus Antoninus*, who married *Lucilla* the Daughter of *Marcus Antoninus*.

These two Ruled (†) together with equal Authority, being both called *Augusti*, and so Re-

(†) ὁ πρῶτος ἡγε-
τον ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
μεταίᾳ βασιλεύσιν ἡγε-
το, τῶν πρότερον καὶ ἑνὸς βασιλευκότων.

Eutrop. *Verus certè cum Marco equale gessit imperium, nam ipsi sunt, qui primo duo Augusti appellati sunt, & quorum fastis consularibus sic nomina præscribuntur.* Spart. in *Ælio Vero*.

gifted

gifted in the Consular Kalenders. *Verns* died first of an Apoplexy in the 11th (||) year of their Reign, and was survived by *Marcus* 9 years, who died in the 20th year of His.

(||) *Imperavit cum fratre annis undecem. Capitol. in Vero.*

I might here remind our Author of his *Hereditary Empire*, and ask him how it could descend upon (†) two Heirs at once, but I pass on to *Commodus*, Son and Successor to *Marcus Antoninus*, who dying in the Camp, commended his

(†) ἡ τῶν ἀδελφῶν συνωνεῖς ἦν, καὶ ἡ Ζωφίμ. l. i.

Commodus

Son to the Army a little before his death. As soon as his Funeral Solemnities were over, *Commodus* gives mighty Largesses to the Army, to bind them more firmly to his Interest, and presently returns in haste to *Rome*. When he came near the City, the whole Senate and People went out to meet him with Laurels and Flowers in their Hands: For they mightily loved him for his Father and and Grandfathers sake, and because he was born and bred among them, and had so much Senatorian Blood in his Veins. For his Father descended of one of the most Illustrious Families of the Senatorian Order, and his Mother *Faustina* the Empress was Daughter to *Antoninus Pius*, and Niece to *Adrian*; and his Extraction added to his Vertuous Education, and comely Form, made them dote upon him, and receive him with Acclamations and all other Herodian l. i.

Signs of Joy, as strewing Crowns and Flowers upon the Ground as he entred into *Rome*. After he came to the City he went in Procession to visit the Temples; after which having given thanks to the Senators, and Gratuities to the Guards

Guards for their Fidelity to him, he went unto the Palace. But the *Romans* were as much disappointed in him, as their Ancestors had been in the Son of *Germanicus*, for he proved a Second *Caligula*, and for his Cruelties was murdered by his Concubine *Marcia*, after he had reigned 12 years.

Commodus being dispatched, *Elecius* and *Latius* who conspired his death with *Marcia*, brought the news of it to *Pertinax*, who was then Prefect of *Rome*. After he had certified himself of the Truth of

Eutrop. l. 8.
Dio. Xiph.
Herodian l. 2.
Orosius l. 7. 16.

Pertinax

the Matter, he goes to the Camp, and promises large Donatives to the Souldiers, and having secured them, he was afterwards declared Emperor by the unanimous Consent of the Senate, who would also have declared his Wife *Augusta*, and his Little Son *Cesar*, but he would let neither be done. He had reigned but 66 days before he was killed in his Palace by the Guards, who hated him for his severe Discipline.

The Souldiers having dispatched him, they immediately from the walls of *Rome* published the Sale of the Empire to him that would give most. Two bid for it, *Sulpicianus* Father-in-Law to *Pertinax* within the

(*) A Drachma is about the value of 7 d. ob. Sterl.

Dio. Xiph. Herodian l. 2.

Julianus

City, and *Julianus* without. *Sulpicianus* offered (*) 5000 Drachmas to every man of them, but *Julianus* being the Richer, offered 1250 more: And the Bargain being made, the Souldiers let down their Ladders from the Walls, upon which he and his Friends mounted into the City. After he was entred, the Souldiers declared him Emperor, and conducted him straight into the Senate-House, whither

whither the Senators immediately repairing, for fear, confirmed the Souldiers Choice.

But *Severus*, who had sworn Allegiance to *Pertinax*, hearing what was done, marched from the Banks of *Danubius* with all expedition to *Rome*: He met with no Opposition by the way, for *Julianus*

durst not march out to encounter him. When he drew near

Rome with his Forces, *Julianus* fell into great distraction, and

the Consul convocating the Senate, who knew in what a Consternation he was,

they voted him to death, and *Severus* to the Empire. After

this they met *Severus* at the Gates of the City, and saluted him as

their Emperor, and the People received him with joyful Acclamations, although he was an

African born. He was a Vertuous Prince, and successful ^{against}

his Enemies, and died at *York* after he had reigned 17 years.

He left two Sons *Geta*, and *Bassianus* surnamed

Caracalla, both of which he designed for his (||) Successors to

rule the Empire with joynt and equal Authority, as the two

(†) *Antonines* had done before. But their Father was no soouer

dead, but they grew Jealous one of another, and all along

quod duos *Antoninos* pari imperio reip. relinqueret exemplo *Pii*, qui

Verum & *Marcum Antoninos* per adoptionem filios reip. reliquit, hic

per se genitos Rectores *Romane* reip. daret *Antoninum Bassianum*, & *Getam*. Spart. in *Severo*. Vid. *Cedrenum*.

Herodian l.2.

Dio, Xiph.

Eutropius l.8.

— Ἀποτίθεται τὸν *Severus*
μὲν ἀνασπένδοντα ἀπο-
δεύειν δὲ μόνον
αὐτοκράτορα τὸν *Se-*
verum. Herod l.2. Vid.
etiam Spart. in Didio
Juliano.

(||) Μνημονεύοι δὲ
τὸ Σεβήριον, καὶ ὅτι αὐ-
τοτερος ἴσος δὴ ἐκ
πατρὶν παρεχρέσταν,
ἴσων αὐτοῖς ὑπηρεστῶν,
καὶ εὐνοίας παρείχοντο.
Herod. in *Severo*.

(†) *Severum* quum
moriretur Letatum

{ *Geta*
Bassianus
Caracalla

their

their Journey from *Brittain* to *Rome* lay in different Houses, neither Eating nor Drinking together all the way.

When they came near the City, the People and Senate went out to congratulate their Arrival ; and the Form of the Procession into the City was thus.

The two Princes in their Royal Purple went first, the Consuls followed after them, carrying the Urn wherein were the Ashes of *Severus*, and then in order all that came out to salute the New Emperors. They put the Urn in the Temple where the Monuments of the former Princes were, and having performed all the Customary Rites, the two Princes retire into different Apartments in the Palace, and had different Guards.

After the Apotheosis of their Father, they sought one anothers Destruction, each seeking to have the Empire alone. The greater part was inclined to *Geta*, and their Mother being afraid of the Tragical Effects of their Discord, sought, but all in vain, to make them Friends. At length they agree to divide the Empire, and the Terms of the Agree-

ment were these : *Bassian* was to have *Europe* and the Western Parts of *Africa* ; and *Geta* was to have *Asia*, and the Eastern Parts of *Africa* ; and of the Senators as many as were *Romans* were to stay at *Rome* with the one, and the rest were to go into *Asia* with the other. But their Mother asking them with Tears in her Eyes how they could divide her, made them break off the Agreement, at which she was glad, hoping at length she should reconcile them. But all her Endeavours were vain, for now they conspire one anothers destruction : But *Bassian* being

Herodian. in Caracalla.

being the more fiery and impatient, was resolved to be before-hand with his Brother *Geta*, and therefore coming suddenly upon him, he gave him his death's wound, of which he presently died in his Mothers Arms.

Upon this he presently flies out of the Palace to the Camp, where telling the Souldiers what dangers he had escaped, and how he had killed his Brother in his own defence; and promising every one of them two thousand and two hundred *Drachmas* a man, and half as much more Provision as they used to have, and likewise giving them leave to plunder the Treasuries and the Temples, they presently proclaim him Emperor. He remained all that Night in the Camp, and the next Day marched in the Head of the Army to the Senate, and

having (†) placed the Souldiers between the Senators Seats, he mounts the Imperial Throne, and excuses the Murder of his

(†) Spart. in Caracalla. Herod. in Caracalla.

Brother in a Speech. After he had reigned with much Cruelty six years, his death was conspired by his *Præfectus Prætorio Macrinus*, who killed him by the hands of *Martialis* the Centurion in *Charra* a City of *Mesopotamiâ*, while he was at Stool. The Souldiers thinking that *Martialis* had killed him meerly to revenge his Brothers death, whom he had slain, pursued him, and killed him without enquiring further into the Conspiracy.

After the death of *Caracalla*, the Army deliberated two days about the Choice of an Emperor, and at length agreed in the Choice of one *Andentius*; but he refusing it, they chose *Macrinus*, who after he had concluded a Peace with *Artabanus* King of *Persia*,

Bassianus
Caracalla

Macrinus

(II) Herodian in *Marino*.

Extraction, and promised that his Government should look rather like a Commonwealth, than a Kingdom; and highly reflected upon *Commodus* and other Emperors who succeeded their Fathers, be-

(†) ὡς περ ὀφληνία
κληρονομίας ἐληφόν-
τες. (II) ὡς ἀνθρώπων
ἰδίᾳ κτήματα.

cause looking upon the Empire (†) as their Due by Inheritance, they abused it, (II) as their own Patrimony, whereas those who received it from the Senate were their Debtors, and bound to requite their Kindness.

(*) Such as the Title of *Augustus*, the Consulship, the Proconsulship, the Tribuneship, the Censorship, and the Office of *Pontifex Maximus*. *Vid. Dion l. 53.*

(II) Capitol. in *Marino*. Herod. in *Marino*.

Maevius
Diadumenus.

Upon the reading of this Respectful Letter, he was immediately declared Emperor by the Senate, and had all the Imperial (*) Honours and Offices conferred upon him. Before he sent this Letter, as soon as he was Elected Emperor by the Souldiers, he declared his Son (II) *Diadumenus, Caesar*, and made him his Partner in the Empire. But his ill-gotten Empire lasted not long, for the *Legions* coming to understand that he conspired against the Life of the last Emperor, began to hate him; and the Fates, as Profane Authors call Providence, made way for their Revolting from him. The Story is in short this:

Mæsa a *Phœnician* Lady, Sister to *Julia* the Wife of *Severus*, and Mother to *Caracalla*, had lived a long time in the Court, and heaped up vast Riches. She had

had two Grandsons by two Daughters, both Priests of the Sun, *Bassianus* surnamed

(†) *Heliogabalus*, and *Alexianus*. (†) Or *Heliogabalus*.

Heliogabalus was a Youth of extraordinary Form and Beauty, and much admired and commended by the Souldiers, who frequented the Temple of the Sun. *Mæsa* finding the young Priest so much in Favour with the Souldiers, privately gave it out, that he was the Son of *Caracalla*, and at the same time gave great Gifts among the Souldiers.

Capitolin in Macri-
no.

Herod. in Macrino
& Heliog.

Dio Xiph. in Ma-
crino.

Upon this the Souldiers revolt from *Macrinus*, and receive *Heliogabalus* as the Son of *Caracalla*, *Heliogabalus* surname him *Antoninus* from (†) his supposed Father, put the Royal Purple upon him, and declare him Emperor.

(†) *Antoninus Cara-*
calla.

Macrinus hearing this, sends *Julianus* with another part of the Army against the Revolters; but as soon as they drew near the City where the New Emperor was, the Souldiers shewed him unto them, crying out, *The Son of Antoninus, the Son of Antoninus*; and also shaking Bags of Money in their Hands. Upon this the Forces of *Julianus* cut off his Head, and joyn with the Revolters to *Heliogabalus*. This ill News makes *Macrinus* march with all his Forces against *Heliogabalus*, who met him in the Confines of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, where a little after the Battel was begun; the Souldiers of *Macrinus* joyned in great Numbers with the Army of this *Pseudo-Antoninus*; he perceiving the Treachery, flies, and was taken and killed in *Bithinia*, after he had reigned about a year.

Macri-

Macrinus, and his Son *Diadumenus Caesar* being *Heliogabalus* kill'd, the whole Army proclaim *Heliogabalus* Emperor, and when the Senate received the News of it, being forced to make a Virtue of (||) Necessity, they confirmed their Choice.

(||) ὑπὸ πᾶν δὲ ἀνάγκη. Herod.

Heliogabalus being confirmed in the Empire, Adopts his Brother *Alexanus*, but two years younger than himself, and declares him *Caesar*; and thereupon makes him Consul with himself, and then gets the Senate (†) most ridiculously to confirm the Adoption of his Brother, against all Law, which (||) requires that the Adopter should be 18 years older than the person adopted.

(†) γελειότατα ψήφισαμένων. Herodian.

(||) *Adoptio* enim naturam imitatur, debet itaq; is qui filium sibi per adoptionem facit plenâ pubertate, i.e. decem & octo annis precedere. Inst. l. i. 11.

Alexianus, after *Alexianus*, otherwise called *Alexander*, was adopted, the Souldiers and Citizens beginning to hate *Heliogabalus* for his Cruelty, Effeminacy, and

(*) In *Alexandrum* omnes inclinantes, qui jam *Caesar* erat a senatu dictus. Lomprid.

(||) παραλύσαι τῆς τῷ Καίσαρι πρῆς ἡ θέλησε τὸν παῖδα. Herodian. Misit ad milites literas quibus iussit ut abrogaretur nomen *Caesaris* *Alexandro*. Lampred.

Affectation of Foreign Fashions, (*) set their Affections and Expectations upon his Brother. *Heliogab.* understanding all this, sought to destroy him, but not being able to compass his death, he resolved to (||) depose him from the *Caesarship*, and in order to it, would not let him stir abroad. But the Souldiers mutining upon it, he was forced to bring him into the Camp, where the

Army

Army thinking they had a fair Opportunity to secure *Alexander*, and the Empire unto him, killed *Heliogab.*, and forthwith declared *Cesar* Emperor, and attended him unto the Palace.

Alexander being declared Emperor by the Army, had all the Imperial Honours and Offices conferred upon him by the (†) Senate, and after a peaceable and happy Reign in all things, excepting the *Persian Expedition*; was at last killed by the procurement of *Maximin*, who conspired against him, as he lay with the Army on the Frontiers of *Germany*, in the 14th year of his Reign.

(†) *Certatim denique omnia decreta sunt & nomina generum, & potestatum.* Lamprid. in Severo.

A fine Hereditary Empire this was, which by reason of its Elective Succession became a (||) Prey to every base and villanous Usurper; For *Maximin* a (*) *Semibarbarian*, as *Herodian* calls him, was at first but a Shepherd, and then a common Souldier, and afterwards a Commander, and yet so gained the Affections of the Souldiery, that he was made Emperor first by a Legion of younger Souldiers over whom he had the Command, and then by the whole (†) Army; to which he gave double Allowance of Provision, and promised mighty Donatives, as the Candidates for the Empire used to do.

(||) *Invadentibus multis temp. res Romana prædombus direptui fuit.* Lamprid. in Severo.

(*) *Barbaro patre & matre genitus.* Capitolin.

(†) *Μαξιμῶν ὁ ὅλος παντὶς τοῦ στρατοῦ Σεβαστοῦ παραγορευθεὶς* — *Herodian* in *Alexand.*

Maximin?

(11) *Sine decreto Senatûs Augustus ab exercitu appellatus est, filio sibi in participatum dato. Capitolin.* But he was afterwards confirmed by the Senatè: According to *Aurelius Victor*, *Potentiam cepit suffragiis legionum, quod tamen etiam patres, dum periculosum existimant inermes armato resistere, approbaverunt.* ὑπὸ τοῦ Διμῆ, καὶ τῆς βαλῆς περὶ χειρὶ ἀνὴρ βασιλεύς. *Cedrenus.*

(11) *Reclamantem & terra se affligentem oportum purpurâ imperare coegerunt. Capitolin.*

Capitolin. and Herodian in *Maximin.* & Cap. in *Gord.*

them. At the same time *Capellianus* in *Africk* rebels against *Gordian*, who losing his Son, whom he sent to reduce him, in the first Battel, hanged himself. The Senate hearing of the death of the two

Gordians, immediately created *Maximus Pupienus* Prefect of the City, and *Clodius Balbinus* Emperors, and the (†) Grandson of old

Gordian Caesar, at the desire of the Souldiers and People. Hereupon *Maximin* marches with all his Forces into *Italy*, where he found the Country without

Gordian.

Maximus Pupienus
Clodius Balbinus

(*) Capitol in *Maximin.* in *Gord.* in *Maximo* & *Galb.*

Being declared (||) *Augustus* in the Camp, he made his Son Partner with him in the Empire, and War with the *Germans*, against whom he was mighty Successful, and magnified his Victories over them in very insolent Letters to the Senate. In the mean while the Army in *Africa* hearing of his barbarous Pride and Cruelty, brought the Purple to *Gordianus* the Proconsul, and made him Emperor against his (||) Will. He sends word to *Rome* of what the Souldiers had done to him, and the Senate out of hatred to *Maximin* confirms the Choice of the *African* Souldiers, and declares *Gordianus* and his Son *Augusti*, and denounces *Maximin* and his Son Enemies to the Empire, and sent Letters to all the Provinces to defend themselves against

them. At the same time *Capellianus* in *Africk* rebels against *Gordian*, who losing his Son, whom he sent to reduce him, in the first Battel, hanged himself. The Senate hearing of the death of the two *Gordians*, immediately created *Maximus Pupienus* Prefect of the City, and *Clodius Balbinus* Emperors, and the (†) Grandson of old *Gordian Caesar*, at the desire of the Souldiers and People. Hereupon *Maximin* marches with all his Forces into *Italy*, where he found the Country without

without Forage, and the Cities fortified against him, particularly *Aquileia*, at the Siege whereof he and his Son were killed by his own Souldiers; to the great Joy of *Rome* and all the Provinces, who looked upon him as another (||) *Cyclops* or *Busiris*, and gave solemn thanks to the Gods for their deliverance by his death.

(||) *Ut illum alii Cyclopem, alii Busiridem, alii Phalarim, multi Typhonem vocarent. Capitolin.*

Maximus dicebat se non contra hominem, sed contra Cyclopem bellum gerere. Cap. in Maxim. & Balb.

A few Months after, the Army of *Maximin*, (*) as *Maximus* foresaw, disdaining the Emperors of the Senate, had a mind to have one of their own choosing, and therefore watching a fit Opportunity they seized the Palace, and slew the Emperors, and made *Gordianus* the young (||) *Cæsar*, *Emperor* or *Augustus* in their steads.

(*) *Dixisse fertur Maximus, vereor ne militum odium sentiamus & mortem. ib.*

(||) *Gordianus Cæsar sublatuſ a militibus Imperator eſt appellatuſ,*

Gordianus

id eſt, Auguſtuſ, quia non erat aliuſ in preſent. ib.

Gordianus after he had reigned 6 years, was baſely betrayed and murdered by his ungrateful *Præſectuſ Prætorio Philippuſ* in the Frontiers of *Persia*, where he was made (†) *Emperor* by the Army. He was ſurnamed *A-rabſ* from his Country, and made his Son Partner with him in the Empire. But as he betray'd his Maſter in *Persia*, ſo *Deciuſ* betray'd him in *Pannonia*, where he was (||) made *Emperor* by the

(†) *Capitolin. in Gordiano Tertio. Eutrop. l. 9. Zoſim. l. 2. Aurel. Viſtor. Pompon. Lætuſ.*

Philippus

Decius

(||) *Zoſim. ibid.*

Muti-

Mutinous Legions, whom he was sent to reduce. *Philip* hearing how *Decius* had put on the Purple, marches against him with his Son, and in the first Battel was slain with his Son, after they had reigned about six years. *Decius* and his Son both lost their Lives in the *Scythian* Expedition by the Treachery of *Gallus*, before he had reigned quite two years.

Gallus

Upon the death of *Decius*, *Gallus* was created Emperor by the Souldiers and the

(||) *Hec ubi patres comparere. Gallo Hostiliano Augusta Imperia, Volusianum Gallo editum Cæsarem decernunt. Pompon. Lætus.*

(||) Senate, and *Volusianus* his Son declared *Cæsar*; but he had not reigned many days, before the *Pannonian* Legions, after their Victory over the *Scythians* under the Conduct of *Æmilianus*,

Æmilianus

chose him their Emperor: Upon which he marched into *Italy*, and was met by *Gallus* and his

Eutrop. l. 9.
Zosim. l. 1.
Aurel. Victor.
Pomp. Læt.

Army at *Interamnia*, But *Gallus* his Souldiers seeing themselves much inferiour to the Enemy, slew their Emperor and his Son, and revolted to *Æmilianus*, who

Valerianus

was shortly after declared *Augustus* by the Senate. But he had not reigned 3 Months, before *Valerianus* was declared Emperor by the *Celtic* and *German* Legions, which the Souldiers at *Rome* hearing, and not being willing to spend their Blood in the defence of an Emperor of such ignoble Extraction, killed him in his Palace, and likewise declared *Valerian* Emperor.

Valerian was received by the Senate, who crea-

(||) Eutrop. l. 9.
Aurel. Victor.
(†) *Trebellius Pollio.*

ted his Son (||) *Gallienus Cæsar*, whom he made (†) Partner with him in the Empire, leaving him the *European* forces to defend the

the German Frontiers, while he marched into *Persia* against *Sapore*, who took him Captive after he had reigned 6 years. *Gallienus* after his Fathers death wholly addicted himself to Ease, Wine, and Wantonnefs, (†) quietly suffering almost 30 several persons to usurp several Parts of the Empire, and take upon them the Titles of *Augusti*, till at last some Officers of the Army not being able to endure him any longer, killed him at *Milan* with his Brother *Valerian*, who was also called *Augustus*.

Lactant. de Mort. Persecut.

Gallienus

(†) *Triginta prope tyrannos passus est. Trebell. Pollio in Gallien. Tumultuarios Imperatores ac Regulos. Ib. in Claudio.*

He was succeeded by (†) *Cladius* the Second, who was chosen Emperor by the Army, and afterwards declared *Augustus* by the Senate. He had not reigned quite two years when he died, to the great grief of the Senate, who chose his Brother *Quintillus* Emperor, who was (||) slain by the Souldiers in the 17th day of his Reign; (†) others say he killed himself, after he heard that the Army had chosen *Aurelian* Emperor, whom as *Pompon Lætus* saith, *Clodius* recommended to the Senate, when he first was taken sick.

(†) Eutrop. l. 9. Trebell. Poll. in Gallien.

Cladius II.

(||) Trebell. Pollio. Eutrop. l. 9. (†) Pompon Lætus. Zosimus. Cedrenus.

Quintillus

My (†) Author, speaking of *Quintillus* his succeeding of his Brother to the Empire, saith, *Delatum sibi omnium iudicio suscepit Imperium non Hereditarium, sed merito virtutum*, which I leave to the Author and Supervisor of *Julian* to construe, if they can,

(†) Trebell. Poll.

can, into this English; *There is nothing more plain, than that the Empire was Hereditary.*

Aurelian

Aurelian his Successor did mighty things, but was slain by the Treachery of his Secretary, (||) who having been threatened by him for some Misdemeanours, counterfeited orders in his Majesties Name and

(||) Zosimus. l. 2.
Eutrop. l. 9.
Aurel. Victor.
Pompon. Latius.

Hand for killing of some Military Officers; which he pretended out of Kindness privately to shew some of them, exhorting them to prevent their own death, by the Emperors. They believing this Sham to be true, presently conspired against him, and killed him at *Canophrurion* between *Heraclia* and *Byzantium*, after he had reigned six years.

After the death of *Aurelian*,

(†) Flavius Vopiscus in Tacito.

there was an (†) *Interregnum* (which is inconsistent with an Hereditary Empire) for six months, which was spent in Compliments betwixt the Army, and the Senate, which of the two should choose the new Emp. At length the Senate chose (*) *Tacitus* a grave Senior of their own Body; but he scarce lived to do any thing more, than to revenge the Murder of *Aurelian*, dying after he had reigned 6 Months.

Tacitus.

(*) Flavius Vopiscus. Eutropius l. 9. Aurell. Victor.

Florianus

After he was dead his Brother *Florianus* (saith (||) *Vopiscus*) usurped the Empire, without the Authority of the Senate, as if it had been an Hereditary Empire, which by the Favour of Unanswerable Mr. J. implies

(||) *Post fratrem arripuit Imperium non Senatûs autoritate, sed suo motu, quasi hereditarium esset Imperium.*

implies plainly that it was not so. He reigned not above two months before he was killed by the Soldiers at *Tarsus*, and (as some suspected) by the contrivance of *Probus*, the Second *Hannibal*, who was chosen Emperor by the universal Consent of the Army and Senate, & after he had quelled many Rebellions, was slain in a Mutiny of the Soldiers at *Sirmium*, after he had reigned six years.

Probus

Tantus autem Probus fuit in re militari, ut illum Senatus optaret, miles eligerit, ipse populus Romanus acclamationibus peteret. Vopiscus.

Eutrop. l. 9. Aurel. Victor. Vopiscus.

The Senate and People mightily bewailed the death of *Probus*, who was succeeded by *Carus* the *Praefectus Praetorio*, who as soon as he was made Emperor by the (||) Army, declared his two Sons *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, *Cesars*, and about a year after he took the Empire upon him, he was killed by Lightning in his Camp upon the Banks of *Tigris*. Presently after he was dead, *Numerianus* falling sick, was killed by *Arrius Aper* his own Father-in-Law, who thought to succeed *Probus* in the Empire.

Carus

(||) Vopiscus. Pompon Lætus.

But he was much disappointed in his Expectation, for the Army chose *Dioclesian* a man of obscure Parentage; and he being declared *Augustus*, revenged the death of *Numerianus* upon *Aper* with his own Hand. *Aper* being slain, he presently set himself against *Carinus*, whom after many Battels he at last quite routed at the River *Margus*, where *Carinus* was slain.

Dioclesian

Vopiscus. Eutrop. l. 9. Pomp. Læt.

(†) Pompon Lætus.
Eutrop. l. 9. Lactant.
de Mort. Persecut.

Dioclesianus
Maximianus
Herculeus

finding the Empire infested with Rebellions, he declared *Maximianus*, surnamed *Herculeus*, Cæsar, and then *Augustus*, and made him his Brother and Partner in the Empire, which they governed together in perfect (||) Concord, till they both resigned together in the 20th, year of their Reign.

(||) Pompon. Lætus.
Eutrop. l. 9. Lactant.
de Mort. Perf. Euseb.
de Mart. Palæst. c. 3.

Constantius
Chlorus
Galerius Maximianus

They were succeeded by their own Adopted Sons and Cæsars, *Constantius Chlorus* whom *Maximian* adopted, and *Galerius Maximianus*, whom *Dioclesian* adopted; who being forced after their Adoption to put away their former Wives, *Constantius* married *Theodora*, Daughter-in-Law to *Maximian*, and *Galerius*, *Valeria*, the Daughter of *Dioclesian*.

Aurel. Victor. Pompon Lætus. Lactant. de Mort. Perf.

When *Dioclesian* resigned to *Galerius*, he was forced by him much against his Inclination to nominate *Severus* and *Maximinus*, who was Nephew to *Galerius*, Cæsars, at which the Army was much surprized, expecting that he should have nominated (†) *Constantinus* Son to *Constantius*, who was now in *Brittain*.

(†) *Constantinum omnes intuebantur. Nulla erat dubitatio, milites, qui aderant, & priores militum electi, ac*

acciti ex regionibus in hunc uirum intenti gaudebant, optabant, & vota faciebant, &c. — Lactant. de Mort. Persec. p. 38.

Constantine was then in the Court of *Dioclesian*, and continued after his Retirement with *Galerius* but very

very uneasy, because another was set up *Cæsar* over his Head: *Galerius* hated him, and had ill Designs upon him, of which he was very sensible, which made him beg leave of his Majesty to go into *Brittain* to his Father *Constantius*, which he obtained with much difficulty upon his Fathers Letters; but leave being once obtained, away he
 (II) *Pervenit ad patrem jam deficientem.*
 (III) *Laet. de Mort. Perf.*

His Father had declared him *Cæsar* before his Arrival, as *Pomp. Lat.* saith, when he first fell sick; and at his death left his part of the Empire to him, and commended him to the Army for their New Emperor. This vexed *Galerius* to the Heart, who yet fearing the *Brittish* Legions, durst not but send him the *Imperial Purple*, which yet he stained (†) by making *Severus* Emperor, and only giving him the Title of *Cæsar*.

(†) *Illud excogitavit, ut Severum, qui erat ætate maturior Augustum nuncuparet, Constantinum vero non Imperatorem, sicut erat factus, sed Cæsarem cum Maximino appellari juberet, ut eum de secundo loco rejiceret in quartum. Laet. ib.*

ctus, sed Cæsarem cum Maximino appellari juberet, ut eum de secundo loco rejiceret in quartum. Laet. ib.

Not long after *Maxentius*, Son of *Maximian* was made Emperor at *Rome* by the Souldiers: *Galerius* sends *Severus* with an Army against him, but as soon as he arrived at the City, his Souldiers revolt from him to *Maxentius*; upon which he flies; and in his Flight was killed at *Ravenna*.

Upon these new Motions, old *Maximian* surnamed *Herculeus*, putting on his Purple, goes to *Dioclesian*, and would have perswaded him that they might joyn, and resume the Empire; but he refusing, he lays

Maxentius

lays by his Purple, and goes to *Constantine*, and perswades him for his own ends, to go against the *Franconians*, who were then in Rebellion; and in his Absence sets up for Emperor again. *Constantine* hearing of this, returns sooner than he could expect him, besieges him in *Marseilles*, and takes him and severely rebuking him for his Treachery,

Euseb. Hist. l. 8. 13.
Lactant. de Mort. Persec.

pulls off the Purple from him, and makes him a Private Man again. Being enraged at this, he attempts to kill *Constantine* by Treachery, which being discovered by his Daughter *Fausta*, who put an Eunuch in his stead, *Maximian* hanged himself in despair.

In the mean time *Galerius* fearing *Maxentius* at *Rome*, and being Jealous of *Constantine* in *Gaul*; declares *Licinius*, *Augustus*, and makes him his Partner in the Empire: Upon this *Maximin* grew discontented, which forced him at last to declare him Emperor and *Constantine* too.

Lact. de Mort. Persec. 32. Ed. Oxon.

After this he was stricken with a loathsome Disease, of which he died; and about two years after him *Maximinus* dyed at (†) *Tarsus*, whether he fled from *Licinius*, who pursued him after he had routed his Forces in *Illyrium*.

(†) Aurel. Victor.
Lactant. saith, he poison'd himself, de Mort. Persec. 49.

(||) Pomp. L. Euseb. de Vit. Const. l. c. 26, 27.

(†) Euseb. ibid. c. 28. Zonar. l. 3. in Const. Cedren.

In the mean while *Constantine* being (||) invited by the Senate and People of *Rome*, provoked and encouraged by the (†) Heavenly Vision, goes against *Maxentius*, whom he overthrew near

Rome

Rome in a pitched Battel. *Maxentius* seeing his Forces routed, strived to escape, but as he passed over the River *Tyber* on a Timber-bridge which (||) broke under him, he fell in, and was drown'd.

(||) Zosim. l. 2. Lactant. saith, that the Bridge was Pons Milvius, and that it was

cut in two by Treachery. de Mort. Perf. 44.

There was now of all these *Augustus'es* (for *Dio- clesian* died in his Retirement in *Dalmatia*) only *Constantine*, and *Licinius*, to whom *Constantine* gave his Sister *Constantia* in Marriage. But they continued not long in Friendship before they fell into Civil War, in which after a Drawn Battel in *Thrace*, Peace was made, and confirmed with Oaths on both sides, but soon after broken by the Provocations of *Licinius*, who being brought to the last extremity, surrendered himself and his Purple to *Constantine*, only upon condition of Life confirmed by the (†) Oath of *Constantine* to his Sister *Constantia*. But being sent to *Thessalonica*, and not being able to abstain from (||) new Attempts, *Constantine* ordered him to be put to death.

(†) Zosim. l. 2. Eutrop. l. 10.

(||) *Opinio fuit immorantem Thessalonicae Licinium inuisse consilium de resumendis armis, & ideo missus in-*

perfectores. Pomp. Lat. καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖσε νεώτερον ἔμελλε βαρβαρὸς μωδόμενος — Csedēnus. Euseb. de Vit. Const. l. 2. c. 43. Theod. l. 1. c. 7.

Now *Constantine* was sole Emperor, and made his Three Sons *Casars*, *Constantine* in the Tenth, *Constantius* in the 20th, & *Constans* in the 30th year of his Reign; among whom, not at his death, as (†) our Au-

Euseb. de Vit. Const. l. 4. c. 40.

(†) Ch. 1. p. 5.

ther

Constantine M. Imp.

(11) ὡς ἂν ἐκπε-
ρων τῶν ἀκρῶν τῆς
ἐλῆς οἰκουμενικῆς ἐκρά-
τει, τὴν Σύμπασαν
τῆς βασιλείας ἀρχὴν
τείσιν τοῖς αὐτοῖς διή-
ξει πασι, ὅσα πνῶ
πατρῶαν ἴσαν. Euseb.
de vit. Const. c. 60. E-
dit. Valef.

Constantinus
Constantinus
Constantinus,
Augusti.

thor fraudulently saith ; but
(11) sometime before, he divi-
ded the Empire, like [or as it
were] a Paternal Inheritance.
After his Death and Funeral,
'The Tribunes of the Army dif-
'patched away men that had
'been remarkable for their Love
'and Fidelity to *Constantine*, un-
'to the *Cæsars*, to give them no-
'tice of what had happened, and the Armies e-
'very where, as soon as they heard of the Emperors
'Death, did as it were by Divine Inspiration as u-
'nanimously consent to acknowledge and admit
'none for Emperors but his Three Sons, as if he
'had been living among them, and accordingly
'not long after they saluted them all by the Name
'of *Augusti*, which is the Ceremony of creating
'Emperors ; and of this they gave notice to one an-
'other by Letters ; and their Harmonious Consent
'in the Choice of the New Emperors was known e-
'very where at the same time.

This is, as near as I can render it, the sense of the
68.Ch. of (†) *Eusebius* in his 4. B.
of the Life of *Constantine* ; but

(†) Edit. Valef.

(11) P. 1.

(†) — τὰς δ' αὐτὰς
παῖδας δὴ ἔτοι μόνους
δὴ ἑδ' ἄλλους αὐτο-
κράτορας δὴ Σεβα-
στὰς ἀνεκάλεον. Euseb.
Vir. Const. l. 4. c. 69.

a Leaf or two from the former
Citation which our (11) Author
took so much notice of, but this
Chapter and the next unto it,
which mentions the Senate and
Peoples (†) unanimous Confir-
mation of the Military Choice,
he passed over, knowing very
well, that two such Harmoni-
ous

ous

ous and Solemn Elections of the

(†) Three *Cæsars* into the *Augustus*ship was utterly inconsistent with an Hereditary descent.

(†) οἱ Καίσαρες μὲν
ἐπὶ πρότερον μετέχον
πμῆς, νυνὶ δ' ὅλον αὐ-
τὸν ἐνδυσάμενοι θεοση-
βείας ἀρετῇ αὐτοκρατο-

τορας, *Αυγυστοι, Σεβαστοι, Βασιλεῖς ἀνεδείχθησαν. Vit. Const.
l. 1. Proæm.

And so indeed was the Division of the Empire, whether it were by *Constantines* Designation, as *Enseb.* saith; or by Agreement among the Three *Cæsars* after his death, as (||) *Zosimus* relates it. For could *His Majesty*, for Example, if he had Three Sons or Brothers, leave *England* to one, *Scotland* to another, and *Ireland* to a third; or could they if they would, after his decease, legally parcel this Hereditary Empire into Three Parts, like an Estate left in Common to three? I suppose if our *Author* put these Questions to his Supervisor, whom I take to be the better Lawyer of the two, he will tell him *No*.

(||) L. 2. Πρώτον
γὰρ ἐνείμαντο τὰ ἔθνη.
Quidam tradunt Con-
stantinum orbem here-
dibus testamento divi-
fisse, quidam filios sor-
te fecisse. Pomp. Lat.

But to go on with a few more Questions, I desire these two Gentlemen to tell me, whether *Constantine* might not have named Four, which (†) some write he did, as well as Three *Cæsars* and Successors, or two, or one? or if he had pleased none, but left it, as some of his Predecessors did, to Fate, or the Senate to choose his Successor? or

(†) Eutrop. l. 10. Διὰ
δέχονται τὴν βασιλεί-
αν οἱ τρεῖς παῖδες, καὶ
Δαλμάτιος ἀδελφεὶς
παῖς, Καῖσαρ κεχει-
ρητονημένον. Pomp.
Lat. *Dalmatium A-*
navalliani fratris fili-
um Cæsarem fecit, &

inà cum filiis heredem statuit.

whether

(II) Vid. Pomp. Lat.
& Zosim. l. 2. Καθίστη-
σι χρίστωα κελιστον ἐν
παλατίᾳ αὐτῷ Γεγο-
νότε.

whether he might not have pre-
ferred his base (II) Son *Crispus*
Cæsar, if he had lived, or his
Nephew *Dalmatius* before his
own Children, or a Stranger be-
fore them all? If he might have

done so, as according to the Laws and Custom of
the Empire he might, then let them tell me, where
is their Hereditary Empire, and the Lineal Succe-
sion of the House of *Chlorus* to the Imperial Crown?

(†) *Feliciano &*
Titiano Coss.

His Coss. *Constanti-*
nus Aug. ad Celestia
Regna ablati sunt xi.
Cal. Jun. Et ipso anno
nuncupati sunt tres Au-
gusti Constantinus, &
Constantius, & Con-
stantius v. id. Septemb.
Ida. Fast. Consular.

From whence it is evi-
dent that *Constantinus*
M. died the 20th. of
May, but his Three
Sons were not declared
Augusti till the 8th. of
September following;
and in the mean time,
as Candidates for the
Empire, rather than
Emperors, they stiled
themselves *Cæsars*, as
is evident from *Con-*
stantine Juniors Letter in favour of *Athanasius* dated the 25th. of
the Calends of July next after his Fathers death, wherein he stiles
himself *Cæsar*. ib.

Lastly let me ask them, If the
Three *Cæsars* designed by *Con-*
stantine (†) commenced *Augusti*
like our Princes, in the moment
of their Fathers death? or whe-
ther they were not formally
made so by the Suffrage of the
Legions? and whether the Suf-
frage of the Legions, and the
unanimous Consent of the Se-
nate according to the Custom of
the Empire, would not have
made any Strangers as rightful
Emperors as they? When they
have considered of an Answer
to these Questions, I hope they
will find that there is nothing
more plain, than that the Em-
pire was not Hereditary, which
I undertook to prove.

After

After the death of *Constantine*, the Empire remained not long Tripartite; for *Constantine* his eldest Son being killed in a Battel with the (||) Souldiers of *Constans*, it was reduced to the two surviving Brothers; whereof (†) *Constans* the youngest being killed in a Battel against the Rebel *Magnentius* in the 14th. year of his Reign, the whole devolved upon *Constantius*, who of his (*) goodness made his Cozen-German *Gallus*, elder Brother to *Julian*, *Cesar*, and not long after deposed him from the (||) *Cesarship*, and put him to death for his Disobedience, (†) and Murder of *Domitian* and *Montinus*.

τὸ Καίσαρος ὄνομα. *Julian*. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 498, & 500. εἰς τὸ πρῶτον ἐπανελθεῖν ὄνομα. *Zon*. l. 3. p. 18. Vid. *Philostorg*. Hist. Ecc. l. 3. p. 492.

(†) Vid. *Amm. Marcell*. l. 14. c. 2, 7, 9, 11. *Onerosus bonis omnibus Cesar*. — *Aufurus hostilia in auctorem suae felicitatis* — *Ferociens ut Leo cadaveribus pastus*. — *Ablatis regis monumentis Casarem tunica texit communi*.

After the death of *Gallus*, he made his Brother *Julian*, *Cesar*, and gave him his Sister *Helena* to Wife. Having made him *Cesar*, he sent him into *Gaul*, where he was very successful against the Enemies of the Empire; and having got the hearts of the Army by Donatives and other Arts, they proclaimed him (||) *Imperator*, *Augustus*, and put the Diadem

(||) *Cedrenus*. *Pomp*. Læt. *Zonaras*.

(†) *Zosim*. l. 2.

(*) Τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν ἢ φιλανθρωπία τὴν αὐτοκρατορίαν ἀποδοῦναι βασιλείαν. *Nazianz*. l. Invect. p. 62.

(||) *Edicto Gallum dignitate privavit*. *Pomp*. Læt.

Ἀφικόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος πρῶτον μὲν τῆς τε καίσεως ἐκδύει πικρῶς. *Zosim*. l. 2. ἐκείνον δὲ ἐλίγῃ πρῶτον τῆς σφαγῆς ἐρρύσατο τὸ

Constantius

Julianus

(||) *Zosim*. l. 3. p. 711. *Am. Marcell*. l. 20. *Zonar*. l. 3. p. 08. *Socrates*, l. 2. c. 47. & l. 3. c. 1. *Zosim* l. 5. 1.

upon

(†) Amm. Marcell.
l. 22.

(||) Amm. Marcell.
l. 21. saith it was reported, That *Constantius* at his death nominated *Julian* his Successor in the Empire, and made him his Heir.

(*) Καλοῖν δὲ Ἰουλιανὸν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὀλῶν ἀρχὴν τὰ σφετέρῃσιν. Zosim. l. 3. Vid. Zonar. l. 3. p. 21.

(†) L. 3.

should create a new *Cesar*, or take a Partner to the Empire, after the Example of former Emperors; but not knowing any whom he durst trust in the *Augustus*ship with himself, he was very uncertain what he should do, till *Eusebia* the Empress perswaded him by many Arguments to constitute *Julian Caesar*.

After the Death of *Gallus*, *Ammianus Mar-*

(†) *Caveri debere Caesaris nomen replicantes gesta sub Gallo.*

(||) *Omnibusq; meritis anteponi debere tropicum.*

upon him, (†) and afterwards swore Allegiance to him; upon which *Constantius* returns from the *Persian Expedition*, and marches against him with his Army, designing to reduce him, but dies in his March in *Cilicia*, (||) leaving him in the Possession of the Empire, in which, after his Majesties death, he was perfectly confirmed by the consent of (*) his Army.

(†) *Zosimus* tells us, That *Constantius* after the death of *Gallus* deliberated whether he

should create a new *Cesar*, or take a Partner to the Empire, after the Example of former Emperors; but not knowing any whom he durst trust in the *Augustus*ship with himself, he was very uncertain what he should do, till *Eusebia* the Empress perswaded him by many Arguments to constitute *Julian Caesar*.
Ammianus Marcellinus saith, That many of the Courtiers were (†) against his making of *Julian Caesar*, but that the Empress openly opposed them all, saying, That the Emperor (||) ought to prefer his Kinsman before a Stranger: And *Julian* was so sensible of the

the Empresses Kindness, that he afterwards wrote an (†) Oration in her praise to express his Gratitude unto her, in which he owns all that he had to the Emperors free Bounty and Generosity; and accordingly (||) Zonaras tells us, That Constantius sent this Message to him after he had Usurped the Empire, that he ought to remember how much he was indebted to his Kindness, *Not only for making of him Caesar, but that he had bred him up from a Child.* From all

which it is plain, First, That Constantius had the liberty after the death of Gallus, whether he would choose any Caesar, or no. 2. That he might by the Laws and Customs of the Empire have created any other man Caesar, as well as Julian. 3. That after he had freely chosen him he might freely have deposed him from the Caesarship, as he did his Brother Gallus, as (†) Galerius was afraid Dioclesian would have deposed him, and as Adrian designed to depose (||) Ceionius Commodus, otherwile called Elins Verus, because he was a Weak and Unhealthy man. Nay the (†) Historians agree, That Constantius commanded Julian, after he rebelled to put off the Habit of Caesar, and betake him-

de aliis cogitaret, si forte vixisset. Spart. in Elio Vero.

(†) Zonar. Loc. cit. Zosim. l. 3. p. 711.

(†) Orat. 3. p. 217.
"Ἐχω γὰρ ἥδη τῇ θεῷ
διδόντι καὶ τὴ βασι-
λείῳς ἀπαντὰ τὰ ἀγα-
θὰ. And p. 218. Τὰ
μέγιστα δὲ τὴ αὐτὴν
παρὰ τὴ γεναίᾳ, καὶ
μεγαλόφρονι βασι-
λεῴς λαβὼν — ἔχει
γὰρ ὅμαι σύμπαντα
παρ' αὐτῆς, τὰ καὶ ἡ-
μῶν χαρίσμενος λα-
βεῖσα —

(||) Tom. 3. p. 19.
"Ὅτι ἔδει σὲ μνηστῆρα
ἔσθαι, ὁφειλέτης μοι εἶ,
ὃ μόνον ὅτι Καίσαρ
ἀντιγόρευσα —

(†) In Syria Augu-
sti vehiculum irascen-
tis per spatium mille
passuum fere pedes An-
tegressus est Galerius
purpuratus. Am. Marc.
l. 14. Vid. Bapt. Ega.

(||) Hic tamen va-
letudinis adeo misere
fuit, ut Adrianum
statim adoptionis pe-
niteret, potueritq; eum
amovere à familiâ Im-
peratoria, quum sepe

self to a private condition. All which things how agreeable they are with the Birthright of *Julian*, and the notion of an Hereditary Empire, I leave to the meanest Capacity to judge.

This very Contradiction is plainly discernable in our Authors First and Second Chapters, notwithstanding all the Art and Fallacies he hath used to disguise the Cheat from vulgar Readers. There we have: *Made Julian Caesar*; *Would never have made Julian Caesar*; the *making of Julian Caesar*; *He would not have made Julian Caesar*. The Nature of *Julian's* Elective Succession, and the Manner in which *Nazianzen* hath expressed himself about it obliged our

(II) Inveſt. 1. p. 50.

Author so to speak. For *Naz.* in the (II) Place which he cites, useth the most emphatical word βασιλεύω, to express how *Constantinus* made or created *Julian Caesar*; for as κληρώ from κληρός signifies to make or ordain a Clergy-man: so in Ecclesiastical Writers βασιλεύω from βασιλεύς, signifies to make, create, or constitute a King [as the *Greeks* called a *Caesar*] and so it is used by the *Septuagint* for the making of *Saul* and *Ishboſherb*

(II) 2 Sam. 8. 2. 2 Sam. 2. 9. Vid. 1 Sam. 12. 1. If. 7. 6. βασιλεύειν χη-
τας ἡσται, seu βασιλεύ-
σαι ποιήσαι. Schol.

(†) p. 50. Καὶ τὸ
μόνον ἔχων ἑ-
φελανθρωπύοντο —
Inveſt. p. 50. Καὶ δὲ
χρηστέτης συνεισήλ-
θεν — p. 64. τὸ δὲ
τῆς τῆς τετυμνότη-
φελανθρωπίας. p. 65.

(II) p. 66.

then *Constantinus* made or created *Julian Caesar*,

as our Author is forced to confess, where was his Birthright? Therefore to prevent this cross Question in the Mind of his Reader, he tells him in the (†) Margent, That a Roman Caesar was somewhat like the Prince of Wales, or the King of the Romans: That he was more than somewhat like the King of the Romans we will grant him, but this somewhat like will appear to be a very piteous somewhat, if Caesar be compared with the Prince of Wales.

Cesarship.

For First, The *Cesarship* only made a man a (†) Candidate and Expectant of the Empire, or some part of it. 2. It was conferred upon many, as well as upon one, (for *Antoninus Pius* left two, and *Constantine* four *Cæsars*) and in this case they might be all equal Expectants of the Empire either in common, or in several Jurisdictions. 3. After the Emperor had freely conferred this Honour upon any man, he might as freely, without any regard to Birth or Birthright, devest him of it again, as *Constantinus* did *Gallus*, and as (||) *Heliogabalus* designed to do to his Brother *Alexander*, *Probus* to his Son (†) *Carinus*, (*) and *Constantinus* himself to *Julian*, a little before he usur-

(†) Spartianus in Ceionio Commod. Maximianus atq; Constantius Cæsares dicti sunt, quasi quidam Principum filii viri, & designati Augustæ Majestatis heredes.

Capitabon in locum. — Ut essent Cæsares velut Candidati quidam Imperii & designati ejus Heredes.

(||) Miste ad milites literas quibus jussit, ut abregaretur nomen Cæsaris Alexandro. Lamprid. Vid. Herod. l. 5.

(†) Pater si vixisset abregare sepius cogitavit filio Cæsaris nomen & conferre Constantio. Pomp. Let. in Carino.

(*) ἔτω τὸ τῆς ἀξίας αὐτὸν παραλύσαι. Zosim. l. 3. p. 710. Ἀποθεῖσθαι περὶς τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τὸ τῆς Καίσαρος ὀνόμα, κατὰ πάντα δὲ ἰδιώτην αὐτὸν τὸ περιαιρεῖται τῷ βασιλεῶς ἐκδιδόναι. p. 711. Καὶ εἰς πρὸς τὸ ἐπὶ ἀνελθεῖν ὀνόμα. Zonar. t. 3. p. 18.

ped the Empire. 4. The Emperor had free Power to confer this Dignity upon whom he would, and to give it to Strangers, as *Nerva* did to *Trajan*, and

(†) *Valentiniano Principi percunctanti quemnam ad Imperii consortium assumeret? Dagalaiphus respondet fidentius: Si tuos amas (Imperator optime) habes fratrem, si rempub. quere quem vestigas.*
Amm. Marcell. l. 26.

Maximian Herculeus to *Constantius*, (†) postponing their own Blood. 5. It gave no proper

Right or Title, but only a bare Recommendation to the *Augustus*ship; and it was in the Power of the Army and Senate, whether or no they would choose the person recommended by that

Character, if there was but one,

or how many of the Number, when there were more.

These things being evident from Matter of Fact, I desire the Author, or rather his Superviser the Lawyer to tell me, in which of these Particulars *Cesar* and the Prince of *Wales* are alike? Can the King of *England* make any man (or any but one man) Prince of *Wales*? can he confer that Dignity upon many at once? can he divest the Prince of it after he has once invested him in it? Is it any thing more, than a mere state of Honour and greater Liberty or Emancipation? Doth it give the Prince any new Right or Expectation to the Crown? or is he to be chosen unto it by any Army or Senate after his Fathers death? I protest when I consider these things, it almost tempts me to believe, That these Men, like many others, are for an Elective and Republican sort of Monarchy, and that they heartily wish that *Cesar* and the Prince of *Wales*, were not only somewhat, but altogether alike.

I hope I have made it as clear to any Impartial Reader, that the *Roman* was an Elective, as that the

the *English* is an Hereditary Monarchy fixed in one Family, and *Lineally* descending in proximity of Blood; and yet as if the Right and Title of *Julian* were of the same nature with that of his *R. H.* to the *Brittish Throne*: Saith he,

(||) *The Fathers* (and yet he mentions but one) *had the Conscience*

(||) P. 22.

to set aside such a Title as this, and 100 more such to secure their Religion: If they had not, they had been very much to blame; and I dare boldly affirm, That all the Fathers of our Church would set aside Ten Thousand such Titles to secure theirs. I mean 10000 such Titles, as *Julian* or *Constantine* either, had by *Birth*; for upon supposition that God interposed and declared them Emperors, that Declaration must pass, as it did in *Saul's* Case, for an Election, and proves that they were not Heirs of Hereditary Monarchies, for then it had been needless for God to interpose. For what need God, for example, have declared *Constantine* Emperor, if he must necessarily have succeeded his Father, as Sons of Hereditary Monarchs do; it had been sufficient for him to let him survive him, if he would have had him succeed.

As for that Passage in *Eusebius* l. 8. c. 13. where after he tells us, That *Constantine* was declared *Supream Emperor and Augustus by the Army*, then he adds, $\chi\epsilon\ \epsilon\pi\ \mu\omicron\lambda\upsilon\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\nu\ \pi\epsilon\acute{\rho}\tau\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu\ \pi\epsilon\acute{\rho}\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\mu\text{-}\rho\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \alpha\nu\alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$; and long before thus by God himself the *Supream Emperor of all*. This Expression if it be not purely (†) Panegyric, then to expound *Eusebius* by himself, it relates to

(†) Such as that in Pliny's Panegyric to Trajan; *Principem tamē nostrum liqueret*

divinitus constitutum—A Jove ipso coram, ac palam repertus—Quem tandem exorata terris numina dedissent, &c. And that of Eumen. to Constantine, *Nobis præcipue te principem dii creaverunt.* Grat. Aet. Conf. Aug.

the special Providence which presided over *Constantine*, and was visible in his Preservation; and more particularly to some Divine Indications by which he was miraculously delivered from the Snares of *Dioclesian* and *Galerian*: This *Eusebius* takes notice of in the 20th Chapter of the First Book of his Life, where he saith, That the Emperors envying and fearing the Courage and Wisdom of *Constantine*, waited for all opportunities to do him mischief, but that the young Prince discovering their Treacherous Practises again, and again by (†) secret

(†) Ἐπεὶ καὶ πρῶτον αὐτῷ, καὶ δευτέρως μεταρῶσα θεῷ συνέυουσι, τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐργαζέτο — αὐτῷ συνέπραττεν ὁ θεὸς πεινῶν καὶ αὐτὸν —

(II) *Eum Pater antea Cæsarem fecerat Cœlesti Nuntio admonitus quum agrotaret, ut primum Constantinum successorem faceret, qui esset à Tyrannicis Romanum Imperium liberaturus, & militibus Dei opem laturus.*

Signs from God, saved himself like the Great Prophet *Moses* by flight; and that God cooperated with him in all his Undertakings, forecasting that he should be present to succeed his Father in the Empire. Accordingly (II) *Pomponius Latius* saith, That *Constantius* by the Admonition of an Angel when he first fell sick, made him Cæsar before his Arrival, understanding that he was the Man, whom God had designed for the Deliverer of the Empire. Now if God had saved *Julian* by such miraculous Signs, and afterwards sent

an Angel to *Constantius* to bid him choose him Cæsar, because he had designed him for his Successor; and *Nazianzen* had known so much, he would never have expostulated with the Ghost of *Constantius* about the Choice, nor blamed him, as he did, for leaving his Empire, and the Royal Priesthood of the Christians to an Enemy of Christ.

Indeed

Indeed *Julian* had the Vanity to pretend to a Divine Commission for usurping the Empire, to justify his Rebellion against *Constantius*. For in his Apologetical Epistle to the Senate and People of *Athens* he tells them, that when the Souldiers first attempted to make him Emperor,

He (||) prayed unto *Jupiter* to give him a Sign, if he would have him accept the Empire; which the God presently did, admonishing him not to resist the Good Will of the Army.

And in his (†) Epist. to his wicked Uncle *Julian*, he saith, That he assumed the Empire upon the Command of the Gods, who charged him as he valued his own Safety to obey them. He

also pretended to have the Death of *Constantius* revealed unto him by a Divine (||) Vision; and it

was also reported of him, that as he made his Entrance into a City of *Gaul*, a (†) Crown which was hung up between two Pillars fell exactly upon his Head,

which the Spectators looked upon as an Omen that he should be Emperor. And upon the account of these and other signs to which he pretended, he looked upon himself, as made Emperor by *Jupiter*, and therefore in all his Pictures which were drawn for publick places, he caused *Jupiter*

to be (||) drawn as appearing from Heaven, and reaching unto him the Imperial Crown and Scepter; which explains the

(||) p. 521, 522. ἡγόμην τὸν θεὸν δῆσαι τέρας, αὐτὰρ ὁ, καὶ ἡμῖν δέδειξεν, δὴ ἡνώγει πεισθῆναι. See also *Julians* Vision of the Publick Genius. *Amm. Marcell. l. 20.*

(†) Ep. 13. Ἐπεὶ δὴ μοι οἱ θεοὶ διαρρήδην ἐκέλευσαν Σωτηρίαν μὲν επαγγελλόμενοι πειθομένω.

(||) *Zosim. l. 3. p. 711.*
Amm. Marcell. l. 22.

(†) *Socrat. Hist. Ec. l. 2. c. 1.*

(||) *Zosim. l. 5. p. 117.*
ed. Val.

special meaning he had in that Passage cited by our Author out of his Epist. to the Jews, wherein he tells them, That he had freed them from Taxes and Troubles; that enjoying Peace and Quietness by his Favour, they might pray for him, τῷ πάντων κρείττονι, & Δημιουργῷ θεῷ, To the best God, and Creator of all things, who had vouchsafed to crown him with his unspotted Right Hand. For Julian acknowledged one chief Eternal God; Maker of all Things, visible and invisible, as he professeth in his Panegyricall Oration in praise of his Admired God, *the Sun*, which he owns to be the Creature of the invisible Sun, or Supream Deity, to whom in Platonical Terms he gives the (†) Attributes of the only true God.

*The Sun,
Julian's God.*

(†) Orat. 4. Πάν-
των βασιλεὺς ἰδέα
τῶν ὄντων, τὸ νοητὸν
Σύμπαν, μονοθεΐης τῶν ὅλων αἰτία, &c. *Sempiternum numen.*
In orat. extrema ad Amicos, Amm. Marc. l. 25.

This I take to be the Special Meaning of that Passage, if it have a Special Emphatical Meaning; but I hope our Author would not have his Reader ascribe the lying Signs which the *Pagan* Gods (who were Devils) shewed unto this Magician (if they shewed any at all) unto the True God. Methinks it was very odd in a Protestant Minister, after he had cited a Passage in *Eusebius* to shew that God had declared *Constantine* Emperor, to produce another out of *Julian* to shew that he had made him so too. I hope he makes a difference between the Miracles and Miraculous Signs which God (||) wrought for *Constantine* (among which we may reckon that Vision of the Cross,) and the Signs which *Julian* saith *Jupiter* gave unto him: If he do not, he is but

(||) *Euseb. Vit. Const. l.*
1. c. 28. Zon. r. 3. p. 3 Phi-
lostorg. H. Ecc. l. 1. c. 6.

but like some of the Admirers of his *Julian*; but if he do, why did he cite the Apostates Authority to prove that he was crowned by God? I am confident none of those, who have so thundered of late with the *Theban* Legion, could be guilty of such Prevarication, as this.

But then if that Saying of his *Julian* have no Special Meaning in it, it is to be taken like many other Expressions which occur in Authors in a general and metaphorical signification only for *Julians* coming to the Empire by the Providence of God, by which he disposes of Crowns and Kingdoms, and thus that most emphatical Recognition which *Dionysius* made of *Valerianus* and *Galienus*'s Right to the Empire is to be understood, when he said in the Name of the Christians, (†) *We worship that one God the Creator of all things, who hath given the Empire to Valerianus and Galienus the Emperors most beloved of God.* As also that of *Athanasius* to *Constantius*, although in *English* it sounds thus; (‡) *O Almighty Lord, Eternal King, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou by thy Word hast given the Empire to thy Servant Constantius.* How would our Author have triumphed if he had found but one such Passage as either of those about *Julian* in any Christian Writer; and yet they amount to no more than solemn acknowledgments of Gods Providence in disposing the Empire to the aforesaid Empe-

(†) ἡμεῖς τοῖνυν τὸν ἓνα θεόν, καὶ Δημιουργὸν τῶν πάντων, τὸν καὶ τὴν Βασιλείαν ἐξέχειρόσαντα τοῖς θεοφιλεστέτοις Ὀυκράτορσιν καὶ Γαλλιῶν Σεβαστοῖς. Euseb. l. 7. c. 11. Hist. Ecc.

(‡) Δεσπότη πανταρχάτωρ, Βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων ὁ πατὴρ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Σὺ διὰ τῆς λόγου σου τὴν Βασιλείαν ταύτην τῷ σῷ θεοῦ-πῶντι δέδωκας. Athan. in Apol. ad Const.

(†) L. 5. c. 4.

Emperors according to that of
(†) Irenæus, *Cujus enim jussu homines nascuntur, hujus jussu & reges constituuntur*; That Kings are made by his Appointment, by whose Appointment men are born. And so indeed Julian came to be Emperor by Gods Providential Appointment, and no otherwise; for it was merely by Gods Providential Appointment that Constantius resolved to choose a *Cæsar*; when he might have taken unto him a Co-partner in the Empire, that Eusebia pressed him to make Julian *Cæsar* after

(||) Vid. Jul. Ep. ad S. P. Q. Athen.

that he resolved to choose one, (||) that he sent him into Gaul, that he had such Success there against the Barbarians, that the Army declared him *Augustus*, that the Emperor died in his March against him, and that after his death his Souldiers submitted unto him. But yet our Fallacious Author represents the matter, as if he had been Emperor by particular Designation from God, like David, or Constantine; and then cries out, *Yet the Fathers had the conscience to set aside such a Title as this.*

But Julian was not made *Cæsar* by particular Order from God, but by the free Choice of Constantius, to whom he owed the Honour of the *Cæsarship*. It was he, that set him upon the next step to the Empire, when he might have set another upon it; he by doing that, which he was free not to have done, was the occasion of his coming so easily to the Empire: Julian had no antecedent Right to the *Cæsarship* or the Government of Gaul, but he owed both to the Generosity of Constantius: And this is the true Ground of all the Rhetorical Interrogatories of Gregory, and of Constantius his bewailing and repenting at his death

death for doing what he had done for him, because he was free to have done otherwise; indeed as free as *Henry* the 7th, or his eldest Son Prince *Arthur* had he lived, would have been to have made his Brother *Henry*, who was designed for a Churchman, Archbishop of *Canterbury* or *York*.

This our Author knew very well, and this the very Expressions which he brings out of *Nazianzen* imply; but yet, lest the vulgar Reader should discern the Fallacy, he keeps a great Jingling with *Foreclosing*, and *Excluding Julian*; which words, (as all terms of Privation connote the Habit) insensibly carry the understanding of the unwary Reader to think of some antecedent *Birtheright* which *Julian* had to his Cousin's Throne; whereas strictly speaking, he had no more right unto it, than the Supervisor of his Book to the Judges place in Ireland, from which (in his abusive sense of the words) he was *Excluded* and *Foreclosed*.

And I would fain ask our Author, who hath so artificially disguised the Nature of the Imperial Succession, whether at the time of writing he was not conscious to himself of this Fallacy, which he is guilty of, in calling the *Non-Election* or *Preterition* of *Julian* by the name of *Exclusion*; and if he were not, whether he be not convinced of his Mistake now? If he be not, then I desire him to tell me, whether *Julian* after the death of *Constantius* could [by virtue of *Birtheright*] have challenged the *Roman Empire*, as *Henry* of *Lancaster* did the *English* [*mutatis mutandis*] in these words: (II) *I Henry of Lancaster challenge this Realm of England with all the Members and the Appurtenances, as I am descended by right line of*

(II) Great point of Succession. p. 15.

the

the Blood coming from the Good Lord King Henry the Third, and through that Right which God of his Grace hath sent me — Or whether the Senate of Rome could have made such a Recognition of Julian's

(†) Great Point of Succession. p. 23.

Right, as the Parliament made to King (†) James at his first coming to the Crown. We being thereunto bound both by the Laws of God and Man, do with unspeakable Joy recognize and acknowledge, that immediately upon the decease of Elizabeth late Queen of England the Imperial Crown of the Realm of England, &c. did by inherent Birth-right, lawful, and undoubted Succession descend and come to your Majesty, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully next and sole Heir of the Blood Royal of this Realm — and thereunto we do humbly submit and oblige our selves, our Heirs, and Successors for ever —

If these things could not have been applyed to Julian upon the death of his Cousen Constantius, then I hope Mr. J. will grant me, that his Arguings from the Authority of Nazianzen are fraudulent and inconclusive, and that for all he can make of that single fathers Poetical Exclamations to the Ghost of Constantius, the English Succession may be unalterable, there being so wide a difference between the Roman and English Monarchy, That being Elective, and This Hereditary; That being Casual, Arbitrary, Uncertain, and most Irregular in its descent, and this being fixed to one House, in a lineal Descent, according to Proximity of Blood.

But still after all this we are pressed with the Authority of Eusebius, who, as our Author tells us, saith, That the Empire was entailed by the Edict of Nature, which (saith he) I think is the most sure and Divine Settlement that can be. But Eusebius neither hath said,

said, nor could say so, nor any thing equivalent thereunto; for there was no such thing as *Entail* *Entail* nor any notion of it among the *Romans*, neither as to the Empire, nor the Estates of Private Men; the

Emperors as well as their Subjects had always liberty to (†) disinherit their next Relations, and make who they would their Heirs; and if a man chanced to die (||) Intestate, they had Rules whereby the Estate was divided among his Posterity; or if he had none, the (†) Collateral Kindred were his *Heirs at Law*.

Let us therefore — consider the Passages of *Eusebius*, wherein our Author triumphs before the Victory; and first it is true,

That in his first (†) Quotation, *Eusebius* saith, that the Throne of the Empire descended upon *Constantine* from his Father, but then, agreeably to the report of all other Authors, he implies but two Lines above his 2d. Quotation, (||) that it was by the Order and Disposal of his Father, which is inconsistent with an *Entail*; and I would fain know of Mr. J. or Mr. H. how *Con-*

stantius his part of the Empire came to be entailed upon his eldest Son, when he had many, by the Edict and Law of Nature; and *Maximians* part of it was not so entailed upon his only Son *Maxentius*, who was casually chosen to the Crown.

What hindered the Law of Nature to take place in the behalf of *Maxentius* after the Resignation

(†) Inst. l. 2. Tit. 13.

(||) Inst. l. 3. Tit. 2.

(†) Ib. Tit. 3.

(†) De vit. Const. l. 1. c. 9. edit. Val. ἔπειθ' ἐξέβητο τῆς βασιλείας πατέρεθεν μὲν εἰς αὐτὸν κατήκει.

(||) De vit. Const. l. 1. c. 21. Καὶ δὴ τὰ κατὰ αὐτὸν διατάττετο. Dispositus deinde ex arbitrio rebus suis, as Val. renders it.

or death of his Father? how came he not to have the benefit of it, if the Law and Edict of Nature in his

Quotations of *Ensebius* signifie a

(II) *Prime Indispensable Law* of Nature, as he would have his Reader to believe: What else doth he mean by the (†) *most sure and divine Settlement that can be*; and by his implying in the same page, *That God declared Constantine Emperor by this Law of Nature before he was declared by the Army*; and that the Choice of the Army was only in obedience to this Law of God and Nature; by which *Constantine*, as the eldest Son of *Constantius* had a Right unto the

(II) According to that Definition; *Jus naturale est dictatum recte rationis indicans actui alicui ex ejus convenientiâ, aut disconvenientiâ cum ipsâ natura rationali, inesse moralem turpitudinem aut necessitatem moralem, ac consequenter ab auctore nature Deo, talem actum aut vetari aut præcipi.* Grot. de Jure. l. 1. 10.

(†) P. 21.

Crown. He hath so artificially tacked the two Texts of *Ensebius* together, as to tempt the unwary Reader to think so, and supposing he will so understand them: Then he adds, if this will not do, I know not what measure of Divine Right will serve their turn, unless they would have a Crown to drop from the Clouds. Then he tells us, That *Julian* pretended to such a Title, and after triumphantly concludes, That the Fathers (as he calls *Nazianzen*) had the conscience to set aside such a Title, as this. Had they so? Then they were very much to blame, to deprive a man of a Right, which belonged unto him by the Laws of God and Nature, or rather by the prime Indispensable Law of Nature, which is the unwritten Law of God.

I say, they are to be blamed, and not to be imitated for so doing, if the $\theta\epsilon\sigma\mu\varsigma$ and $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\phi\upsilon\sigma\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$

of

*Jus Natura-
le Defin.*

of *Eusebius* be to be taken in such a strict sense; but if they are not (as indeed it is impossible they should be) then they are very reconcileable with the Elective Nature of the Empire, and the Casual and Elective Succession of *Constantine* and his three Sons, (who were all freely nominated by their Fathers, and freely chosen by the Army) unto the Imperial Crown.

I say 'tis impossible, that the *θεσμος* and *νόμος φύσεως* of *Eusebius* should be taken for the Law of Nature in the strict and proper sense; and this is evident from the two Quotations, in

the 2d. of which p. 21. *Eusebius* saith, (†) That *Constantius* passed over the Inheritance of the Empire by the Law of Nature to his eldest Son *Constantine*: But in the First, p. 19. (||) he saith that the Throne of the Empire descended upon *Constantine* from his Father, and by the Law of Nature was reserved for his Sons, and for their Posterity, and propagated like a Patrimony for ever.

(†) Τὸν κληρον τῆς Βασιλείας νόμο φύσεως τὴν ἡλικίαν προδόντι παρὰ φύσιν. de vit. Const. l. 1. c. 21. edit. Val.

(||) — θεσμός δὲ φύσεως πατρὶς, καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἐκ γόνου ἐπαμύνεται, εἰς ἀγήραν τε χρόνον, διὰ τὴν πατρὶν ἐμμενέται κληρὸς.

By his Sons here, he means his Three Sons, among whom (*) he tells us in another place, he divided the Empire, like a Paternal Inheritance. Now if the Law of Nature be taken by *Eusebius* in the strict sense, in which

it always commands the same things, how could *Constantius* by the Law of Nature leave the Empire only to his eldest Son, and *Constantine* by the same

Law

(*) De vit. Const. l. 4. c. 51. Τὴν Σεμπάσαν τῆς Βασιλείας ἀρχὴν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δίδωμι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς πατρὶν ἐμμενέται —

Law divide it among Three? Can the Law of Nature be both for *Primo-geniture*, and *Gavel-kind* too?

9. I would further ask our Author, upon supposition that the three Sons of *Constantine* had every one of them had Three Sons, whether their respective Parts of the Empire by the Law of Nature must have been divided into equal shares among them, as the whole was divided among their Fathers; or whether by the Law of Nature they must have been restrained to the Eldest Son, and the Younger been laid aside? By that time he hath considered of an Answer to these Questions, he will be forced to grant, That by the Law of Nature, *Ensebins* meant no more in his loose Panegyric way of writing, than the dictates of Reason grounded upon natural Kindness and Affection, by which a man is prompted in the first place to make Provision for his Children, or if he have no Children, for his next Relations; and these dictates of Reason grounded upon natural Affection may be called the Law of Nature in a large and secondary Sense. Thus we say a man is bound to provide for his Children, or Nature binds a man to provide for his Children, and to prefer them before Strangers, but then these and such like Sayings are not *absolutely*, but only Hypothetically true, upon such and such Suppositions: They are only general Rules of Natural Justice and Equity, from which there may be a Thousand Exceptions. As for Example, *Nature*, or *Natural Justice* and Equity binds me to study the Advancement of my Children, but not to places for which they are not fit, or of which they are not worthy, &c. But if I have Places of Honour and Trust at my disposal, of which my Children, or next Relati-

ons are as capable, and worthy as other men, then if no mischief will thereby arise to them, nor the Publick, Natural Justice requires, that I should prefer them; and upon this Supposition, that *Commodus*, Son to *Marcus Antoninus* inherited all the Vertues of his Father, as the World believed, *Athenagoras* in his Apology told his Majesty, that the Christians prayed that his Son *κατὰ τὸ δικαιοτάτον*, as was most just, might succeed his Father in the Throne. So *Eumenius* saith, that *Constantius Chlorus*; *ut decebat*, as it became him, nominated *Constantine* for his Successor; and these two last Phrases have the full force of the *θέμιτον*, and *νόμιτον* of *Eusebius*, by which he meant no more, than the Dictates of natural Reason, and Affection, by which *Constantius* was prompted to leave his Empire to his Eldest Son; other Reasons concurring, why he should not divide it among them all, and *Constantine* to divide it among his three Sons; other Reasons concurring to perswade him, why he should not divide it among more (suppose *Eusebius* be in the Right) nor wholly leave it unto one. He might if he had pleased have left his two Brothers *Constantinus* and *Anatolius*, and his Nephew *Dalmatius Caesar* Sharers in the Empire, or the Army, and Senate, if they pleased, might have chosen these three, and rejected the others; but they did not only postpone them, but killed them, which (by the way) is a violent Presumption, that the Empire was not Entailed upon the House of *Chlorus*, to which the (†) Army and *Constantius* were mighty injurious in taking away so many of its Supports:

(†) *Vid. Zosim. l. 2. c. 11. Ep. Jul. ad S.P. Q. Aeth.*

Thus have I fairly examined the Authorities of *Eusebius*, in which it is also remarkable that he doth not say, That the Empire was a Paternal Inheritance, but only that it was left or divided, like a Paternal Inheritance; just as *Galba*, speaking of the Empire which continued so long in the House of the *Cæsars* said, *Sub Tiberio, Caio, Claudio unius Familia quasi hereditas fuimus.* We have been as it were the Inheritance of one House under *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, and *Claudius*. And it is further to be taken for a Rule, that wheresoever the words *Heir*, *Patrimony*, *Inheritance*, or such like words occur in Authors that speak of the Descent, Succession, or Conveyance of the Empire or private Estates among the *Romans*, they are never to be understood as we understand them, when they are strictly used with reference to *Entailed Estates*.

For (as I said before) there was no such thing as *Entail* or *Birthright* among the *Romans*, which our Author would make his Reader believe there was, by that Complement of *Eumenius* in his Panegyrick to *Constantine*, *Imperium nascendo meruisti*, which signifies no more than that singular advantage and pretension he had to the Empire by being the Son of so Good an Emperor, and is no more than what a Panegyrist might say to the Son of an Excellent King of *Poland*, if he were chosen to succeed his Father to the Crown. For Gratitude would oblige the E-

(†) According to that of *Eumen.* to *Constantine*; *Imperatoris igitur filius, & tamen Imperatoris, & ipse tam feliciter adeptus Imperium* —

lectors of any Empire, to prefer the (†) Son of a good deceased Prince before all others that were his Equals in Merit; and this was the ground of the following Passage in *Commodus* his Speech to the Army, which,

Rule
Vide Preface
pag. x.

Pag. 68.
7

Commodus

if

if our Author had known of it, would have founded far better for his Purpose, than the foresaid Expression of *Euminius*: (||) ' Fortune hath made ' me your Emperor after my Father, not being a Stranger, or ' Adopted Son as my Ancestors ' have been, nor glorying in an ' acquired Empire, but I am the ' only Prince that hath been born ' unto you in the Court ; and ' not being of private Extraction, I was received in the Royal ' Purple as soon as I was born, ' and the same Sun, that first ' saw me a Man, saw me a Prince ' too. I pray consider this, and ' then love me as your natural ' born Sovereign, and not as ' one given unto you by Choice.

(||) Ἐβλεπὼν δὲ μετ' ἐκείνων ἡμεῖς Βασιλέα ἢ Τυχὴν ἢ ἐκ ἐπίστατον, ὥσπερ οἱ περὶ ἡμᾶς, προσκτιτῶ Σεμνόνον ἀρχὴν ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸ ἐμὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖς Βασιλείοις ἀπεκνήθην, καὶ μὴ πειραθέντα με ἰδιωτικῶν Σπαργάνων, ἀμα τῷ τῆς γαστρὸς προελθεῖν ἢ Βασίλειον ὑπέδειξατο πορφύρας, ὅμῃ δὲ με εἶδεν ἡλιθίαν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ Βασιλέα. Εἰκότως ἀνὲν ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι σέβετε καὶ δθέντα ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ γενήεντα αυτοκράτορα. Herodian. l. i. in Commodo.

How would Mr. J. have spread his Feathers if he had known of this Passage! He would have said, *There is nothing more plain than that the Empire was Hereditary; there are not words in the World to express it more plainly; if this will not do, I do not know what Blood and Birthright means!* And yet every Scholar knows, that these Expressions are not to be understood in literal strictness, but with allowance and latitude, as they are nothing but the Rhetorical Amplification of Young *Commodus*, who prided himself in this, That he was born the Son of an Emperor, which none of his Ancestors had been, and was Swaithed, as it were, in the Royal Purple, as

soon as he came from his Mothers Womb.

And if these Rhetorical expressions in the Speech of *Commodus* be not to be understood in literal strictness, much less is the foresaid Complement of *Eumenius* literally true of *Constantine*, as we shall find if we consult the whole Passage whereof our Author very fraudulently presents us but with as much, as he thought would serve his own Design. But to the clear

(†) *Ventum est ad Principem Claudium, qui nobis intuitu Constantii Caesaris cum curâ in literis digerendus est — De Claudii genere & familiâ saltem pauca dicenda sunt, nè ea quæ scienda sunt præterisse videamur. Claudius, Quintillus, & Crispus fratres fuerunt. Crispi filia Claudia: ex eâ & Eutropio nobilissimo Gentis Dardaniæ viro Constantius Cæsar est genitus. Trebell. Pollio. in Divo Claudio.*

I. *Quinimo patrem tuum ipsius verus illa Imperatorie dignus prærogativa provexit.*

II. *Ut jam summo gradu, & supra humanarum rerum fata consisteres post duos familie tue tertius Imperator.*

III. *Inter omnes (inquam) participes maiestatis tuæ hoc habes Constantine præcipuum, quod Imperator natus es.* IV. *Tantæque nobilitas originis tuæ, ut nihil tibi addiderit honoris Imperium.*

understanding of it, I must here inform my Reader that (†) *Constantius*, Father of *Constantine*, descended from *Claudius* the Second Emperor of that Name, by his Niece *Claudia*, Daughter to his youngest Brother *Crispus*, and not by his Daughter, as *Eutropius* saith. This the Panegyrist refers unto: First of all telling *Constantine*, 'That his Fathers I. Royal Extraction was the occasion of his being promoted to the Crown; by which means he II. seemed to be raised to a pitch above the Fate of other men, in that he was the Third Emperor of his own Family; and that he had this III. Special Glory among his Partners of the Imperial Majesty, that he was born Emperor. IV. And that the Nobility of his Birth was such, that the Empire added

'no honor unto him: Nor V.
'could Fortune lay claim to any
'thing he had, *who had never stood*
'for the Empire, nor been chosen by
'*Suffrage thereunto.* This very

V. *Nec possit fortuna
numini suo imputare
quod tuum est, omisso
ambitu, & suffraga-
tione.*

Expression supposes, that *ambi-*
tus, and *suffragatio* were the ordinary way of ac-
quiring the Empire, according to that Rule of Law, *Ex-*
ceptio firmat regulam in non exceptis. And then it fol-
lows where our Author begins:

'VI. It was not the casual Con-
'sent of men, nor any sudden
'effect of Favour, that made you
'Emperor [like other men] but
'you gained the Empire by the Me-
'rit of your Birth: i. e. You were

VI. *Non fortuita ho-
minum consensus, non
repentinus aliquis fa-
voris eventus te Prin-
cipem fecit Imperium
nascendo meruisti.*

born unto all that preparatory Greatness to the Em-
pire, which other men attain unto by Labour and
Toyl: This, and no more is the Sense of those Rhe-
torical Expressions, *Imperator natus es*, and *Imperium*
nascendo meruisti; as is plain from the next words,

'VII. Which seems to me the
'first and greatest Gift of the
'Gods for one to come great in-
'to the World, and to find at
'home [an Empire] ready for
'him, which others hardly attain
'with the Toyl, and Labour of
'their whole Lives.

VII. *Quod quidem mi-
hi Deorum immortalium
munus, et primum vide-
tur, et maximum in lu-
cem statim felicem veni-
re, et ea quæ alii vix to-
tius vitæ laboribus con-
sequuntur jam domi
parata suscipere.*

Nay so far was *Eumenius* from thinking, that *Con-*
stantine came to the Crown by vertue of such a Title
as that of his *R. H.* that a little after the place which
our Author hath cited, he expressly ascribes it to his
Fathers Election of him; *Quinimo statim sententi-*
amrogatus, cui Imperium discerneret, ut decebat, dixit
Constantinum, manifestè enim Patris sententiâ electus est,

*Ambitus &
Suffragatio*

He never canvassed for the Empire, as others did, nor was formally chosen by the suffrage of the Army, but by his Father *Constantius*, after whose death, the Soldiers unanimously admitted him for their Emperor, as the same Panegyrist observes, *Purpuram statim tibi, cum primum copiam tui fecit egressus, milites iniecere lachrymanti*. But besides the Interest of his Father, there was also the joynt interest of another great Man, which made the Army so readily embrace him, as it

(II) In Epitome.

appears from (II) *Agel. Victor.*

Constantio mortuo, cuius qui ade-

Erocy Alamant annitentibus, sed præcipue Erocy Alamannorum rege, auxilii gratiâ Constantium comitato, Imperium capit. And if he was first Elected by his Father, then Admitted by the Army, which had Power to reject him, and last

(†) De Mort. Perf.

of all Confirmed by (†) *Galerius*, as *Lact.* tells us, where was his Hereditary Descent?

But in the 3d. place; so far is this passage of *Eumenius* from being a full and pregnant Proof of the Hereditary Nature of the Empire, or that *Constantine* was born unto it, as our Author (II) speaks, that he

(II) P. 20.

(†) De vit. Const. l. 1. c. 5. Ed. Val.

was born 14 years before his Father *Constantius* was made *Cæsar*: For (†) *Eusebius* saith, That he reigned more than 30 years, and

was above 60 years old when he died; and by consequence he was at least 30 years old when he came to the Crown in the year of our Lord 306. But his Father *Constantius Chlorus* was made *Cæsar* by *Dioclesian*, and *Maximian* in the (II) Year

(II) *Vid. Baluz. in Lact. de Mort. Perf. p. 13. Ed. Oxon.*

293. by which Account *Constantine* must have been full 14 years old before his Father was

made *Cæsar*. and about 29 before he was made *Augustus*, which was about a year before he died.

Eume-

Eumenius could not but know this, and therefore his Complement of *Nascendo Imperium meruisti*, signifies no more than his getting the Empire by occasion of being the (†) Son of an Emperor, *Imperatoris filius & tanti Imperatoris*, as he afterwards speaks. If our Author had pleased, he might as well have proved *Constantius* to have been heir to the Empire, from that Passage to *Constantine*, *Patrem tuum ipsum vetus illa Imperatoria domus prerogativa provexit*;

(†) Which was a mighty Advantage according to that of *Nazar.* in his Paneg. to *Constantin.* *Tuos Constantine maxime, tuos liberos, ac deinceps nepotes tecum optat [Roma] ut tanto a pluribus petantur, quanto ad majora nascuntur.*

This *Latine* might have been turned into plausible *English* for our Authors purpose, but he well knew, that *Claudius* was succeeded by Four or Five elected Emperors of different Families, before *Constantius* was chosen Emperor, and that the Posterity of a Brother, most of all the youngest to an Emperor elected from a private man, can derive no Title to the Crown. Yet *Eumenius*

(II) *Post duos familias tue tertius Imperator.*

derives the Succession both of *Constantius*, and (I) *Constantine* from *Claudius*, but our Author cunningly took no notice of that,

because it proves that the Panegyrist had no design to give either of them any proper Hereditary Title, but only to declare the Honour and Advantages they both had by being descended of such high Blood.

But suppose *Constantine* had been born after his Father *Constantius* was made Emperor, yet his Birth and Primo-geniture could Entitle him to no more, than his Fathers Share of the Empire, which *Euseb.* calls *πατρώα κληρονομία*, and yet to qualifie him for

(†) In which *Constantius* his taking of *Maffilia* is the last Exploit for which the Panegyrist commends him. *Vid. Lactant. de Mort. Perf. p. 57. Ed. Oxon.*

Brothers, nay any other man, as good a Right to the Empire, as he himself had.

After the Authority of *Eusebius* he serves us with another out of *Julian*, but to as little purpose. *Julian*, saith he, in his Panegyrick to the Empress *Eusebia* saith, That *Constantius* married her to have Heirs for his great Lordship of almost all the World: And then he adds, He having none, *Julian* himself was the sole, and undoubted Heir, for in him the Family was afterwards extinct. Our Author, I see, delights much in Panegyricks, but he was very unlucky

(II) P. 20.

(†) *Eâdem annitente, Caesar à Constantio dictus est, horum igitur in se beneficiorum gratias hac oratione refert. Petavius in Orat. III. Jul. Vid. p. Orat. 218, 220, 224, 225, 229.*

this [for when this (†) Panegyrick was made he had no more] *Eumenius* himself tells us, he was Nominated and Recommended by his Father, chosen by the Army after his Fathers death, and confirmed by the following Suffrage of the Senate, which would have given any of his

in citing this, which proves the Succession of *Julian*, although (II) he was the Nephew of *Constantine* and had the same Royal Blood flowing in his Veins, to have been purely Arbitrary and Elective. For (as I said before) (†) *Julian* wrote this Oration in praise of the Empress out of meer Gratitude to her, because she had persuaded the Emperor against his Inclinations to create him *Cæsar*, and accordingly he often (II) acknow-

(II) acknowledges in it, That next under God he had received all he had from the Free Choice and Generosity of his Majesty; which exprellion, with the rest in the Margent, are very repugnant to the nature of an Hereditary Lineal Succession, but very proper for an Elected Candidate to use.

(II) ἔχω θεῷ διδόν-
τος, καὶ τῷ Βασιλεῶς
ἀπαρτα. p. 217. τὰ
μέγιστα παρὰ τοῦ γη-
ναίου καὶ μεγαλόφρονος
Βασιλέως λαβὼν —
αὐτῷ ἡμῖν χάρισα-
μένῳ. p. 218. τὰ μὲν
ἔφη, ἥδη παρ' ἡμῶν
ἔχεις, τὰ δὲ ἔξωθεν σὺν
θεῷ. p. 220. To which
agrees that of Zosim.

l. 3. p. 711. Ἰουλιανῷ δὲ συγχερίναι, ὡς ἐι μάλλοι τῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν
αὐτῷ διδομένῳ τέ Καίσαρος. And of Zonaras t. 3. p. 19. ὅπ' ἔδει
σε μνησθῆναι ὅσον ἐφιλότης μοι εἶ, ἢ μόνον ὅτι Καίσαρα ἀνηγά-
ρυσκα. — Vid. P. 224, 225, 229.

Besides, in the words which he cites, Julian saith not, That (II) Constantius married her to have Heirs for his great Lordship of almost all the World, but that He being Lord of almost all the World, made choice of her to bring him Sons [in the plural Number] who might be Heirs of Honour, and Power. This is a ge-

neral Expression, and it may be presumed, that Julian expressed himself in general words on purpose, because the Sons succeeding their Fathers in the Roman Empire was so Arbitrary and Uncertain, though in the general they could not fail to be Heirs of Honour and Power. But had the Expression been as particular, as our trusty Author hath falsely rendered it, yet the word *Heirs* is to be taken in the sense it then had for chosen, or constituted Heirs, or Successors,

(II) Orat. 3. p. 203.
Γάμου τε ἐδέετο πρὸς
παίδων γένεσιν, ὅτι
κληρονομήσουσι τῆς π-
μῆς καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας
ταύτης ἀξίαν ἐκρί-
νατο τῆς κοινωνίας, γα-
ρονῶς ἥδη χέροντι
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κυριαρχίας.

fors, and not for Heirs by Entail, in which case purely Elected Emperors, as

(†) ὁσπερ ἡ Βασι-
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γονόσ κληρονομίας.
Nazianz. 11. Inveſt.
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(†) *Julian* the Successor of *Julian*, are called τῆς Βασιλείας κληρονομοί, Heirs of the Empire; and accordingly οἱ κληρονομήσαντες, is rendred by the Latine Tran-

slator, *Quos heredes relinqueret*, whom he might make or create Heirs: So that the true Sense of *Julians* Compliment is this, That *Constantius* being Lord of almost all the World, married *Eusebia* to bring him Sons, whom he might make Heirs of Honour (or if our Author please to have it so) of his Honour and Power.

Before I go farther, I cannot but observe, what a Trick he hath used to prevent his Readers from enquiring who succeeded *Julian*, or to forestall their Objection against the Hereditary Succession, in case they should by chance, or enquiry come to under-

stand, That first (||) *Sallustius*, and then *Julian*, who were nothing related to the House of *Constantine*, were chosen Emperors by the Army, after the

death of *Julian*. To obviate this Objection of choosing, and of choosing those, who had none of the Royal Blood, (as he fallaciously speaks) flowing in their Veins, (†) he tells us, That

(†) p. 20.

Constantius having no Sons, *Julian* himself was the sole and undoubted Heir, for in him the Family was afterwards extinct.

Little do his Admirers know how much he hath imposed upon them in this Particular, for whether he did not know it, or whether he dissembled it, I will

Sallustius
Julian

(||) Amm. Marcell.
1.25. c.15. ed. ult. Par.
1681.

will not stand guessing; Julian was not the last of the Blood, but left behind him one of the (†) Imperial Stock, descended of (||) *Constantius* and *Constantine*, (*) Nephew, or Cousen-German by the Fathers side to *Julian*, by name *Procopius*, who was a Commander of great Note in the Army, whom he had privately made (†) *Cæsar*, and commanded him briskly to assume the Empire, if he heard he was killed in *Persia*. If *Procopius* had been an *umbratic*, obscure person, our Author might have been in part excused for saying, that *Julian* was the last of the *Constantian* Family, but seeing he made so great a Figure in the times of *Constantius*, and *Valentinian*, as well as of *Julian*, I know not what his Admirers will say in his Defence.

προν δὲ τῆς πρὸς Ἰουλιανὸν συγγενείας αὐτοῦ διαφέρει ἰδιόθεν.
& l. 4. p. 736. τὴν γὰρ Ἰουλιανὸς ὡς γένει πρὸς αὐτὸν μέλει—
Vid. & p. 738. & Amm. Marc. l. 26. c. 7. & Philostorg. l. 9. p. 517.

In the time of *Constantius*, *Procopius* was one of his (||) Secretaries, and sent by him Ambassador to the King of *Persia*, and in the time of *Valentinian*, and *Valens*, he rebelled upon this Occasion. It came to be known that *Julian* had privately made him *Cæsar*, and given him private Instructions to invade

(†) *Stirpis Imperatoria*. Amm. Marc. l. 6. c. 6. 11. *Culminis summi prosapia*. c. 7.

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(*) ἀνέλιθ. Cædren. & Zonar.

(†) *Ibi moratus aliquot dies dicitur ante aras, nullo arbitrorum admissio, occultè patèdamentum purpureum propinquo suo tradidisse Procopio, mandasseq; arripere fidentiùs principatum, si se interisse didicerit apud Parthos*—— *Illic, ut antea cogitaverat, triginta millia lektorum militum eidem commisit Procopio*. Am. Marc. l. 25. c. 3. Vid. Zosim. l. 3. p. 733. Προχώ-

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invade the Empire, if he should dye in the *Persian Expedition*. It came also to be reported, but very falsely, that *Julian* with his last Breath nominated him his Successor, and these things made him jealous of the New Emperors, because he feared these stories would make them jealous of him. Wherefore as soon as he had buried *Julian* in the Suburbs of

(†) Amm. Marcell.

1.25.c.9.

(||) L. 4. 346.

Tarsus, he (†) retired and could not be found, though diligent search and enquiry was made after him. (||) *Zosimus* saith, That after *Jovian* was chose Emperor he presently went to him in all hast, and delivered up his Purple unto him, telling him how he had received it, and desired leave of him to leave his Service, and retire to *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, where he had great Possessions, and lived quietly all the time of *Jovian*; but however growing suspected after his death to *Valentinian*, and *Valens*, he absconded, and skulked about, till being wearied with want and solitude, he grew desperate, and Rebelled, hoping to be assisted with the *Julian*-Interest, but being deserted, and betrayed by his own Officers,

(†) Amm. Marc. 1.26.

— c.9. *Zosim.* 1.8.c.8.

he was delivered bound to *Valens*, (†) who presently ordered him to be put to death. This is the short Account of *Procopius*, *Julian's* Nephew (as is more probable) or Cousen-German by the Fathers side, who from the death of

(||) L. 25. c.6. *Post Constantii obitum in rerum conversione velut Imperatoris cognatus alius anhelabat, & apparebat eum, si unquam potuisset, fore quietis publicæ perturbatorem.*

Constantius, as (||) *Marcell.* tells us, had an eye upon the Empire, and seemed to be one, who would dispute for it, if an Op-

portunity

portunity were offered, which made *Julian*, as it was muttered about, give him the forementioned Instructions of assuming the Government, when he was dead. And now let the World think what it will of our Author for asserting, that the House of *Constantius*, or *Constantine* was extinct in *Julian*, when so Famous a Man, who makes so great a part of the History of his Time, was then surviving of it; and let all impartial men judge, whether the Imperial Crown was entailed upon the Progeny of *Constantius Chlorus*, when the Army of *Constantius*, and *Julian* his Grandsons in eight Months time chose (†) Three Emperors without taking notice of *Procopius* [his Great Grandson if he were *Julians* Nephew, but his Grandson if they were Brothers Children] or he of the Injustice of their Choice. Furthermore, if he was Nephew to *Julian*, he must have been second Cousen to *Constantius*, and Son to the Neece of *Constantine* the Great; or if he were his Cousen by the Fathers side, then he was likewise Cousen to *Constantius*, and Nephew to *Constantine* the Great; and besides all this, he was a Man as well qualified, and educated for the Government, as any of the three mentioned before; who, if the Empire was Hereditary, were all Usurpers and illegally chosen over his Head.

(†) *Salustius*, who refused the Empire because of his Age and Weakness; *Jovian*, who accepted it, and *Valentinian* his Successor.

But although we had wanted the Instance of *Procopius*, yet it would have been a bold and precarious Assertion to say, that the House of *Chlorus* was extinct in *Julian*, for there were many Branches of it, of whole Posterity Histories are silent, and say nothing; but then it doth not follow from thence, that they

had none. It doth not follow, for Example, that *Constantinus* eldest Son to *Constantinus Chlorus* by *Theodora*, or *Nepotianus* his Grandson by *Eutropia* had no Children, because we do not read of them ; for as the Parents of *Procopius*, so the Children of these and others Branches may not have been spoke of by — Historians; but men that will write against the *Monarchy*, or the *Succession*, or the *Rights of Sovereignty*, may venture to say any thing, they may be as bold as *blind Bayard*, they may contradict themselves, or common-sense, and yet shall not want an *Association* to cry them up for Unanswerable, be they never so much besides the Truth.

Having now shewed how the Succession stood in the *Roman Empire*, and answered all the Impertinent Citations, which our Author hath fallaciously brought to prove it to be *Hereditary*, I hope by this time his Admirers will acknowledge that he is not Unanswerable, but that the Foundation upon which he argued, being destroy'd, the Superstructure of his Conclusions must fall to the Ground. For his Industrious Attempt to prove the *Roman Empire* to have been Hereditary doth sufficiently declare it to be his own Sense, that there can be no Parallel between the case of *Julian* and a Popish Successor, but upon that supposition ; and that otherwise, there can be no good arguing from *Non-Election* or *Preterition*, to *Exclusion*, and from no Right and Title, to Birth-right, or Inheritance, which is the constitutive difference between an *Elective* and *Hereditary Crown*.

The Nature of Birthright, and Inheritance, which is not founded on the Statutes, but upon the Original Custom and Constitution of the *English Government*, which is an Hereditary Monarchy, makes it debate-

debateable whether an Act of Exclusion would be Valid or Invalid? And upon supposition that it would be Valid, there are many Arguments which makes it disputable, whether it would be safe or unsafe, expedient, or unexpedient; and whether the Mischiefs it would bring upon us would not be as great, as those which it would prevent. But in the case of *Julian* there was no such matters for debate; and therefore the sense which *Nazianzen* had of his Succession is nothing to us, who are under another sort of Government, and in other Circumstances; the Consideration of which makes many Sincere and Honest Protestants, who dread Popery and a Popish Successor, as much as our Author, zealous for the *Lineal Succession*; and this distinction between the *Succession*, and a *Popish Successor* makes it no Contradiction in the Addressers, and particularly in his and *Shr. Beth's* Friends of *Rippon* to beseech his Majesty not to agree to the Bill of Exclusion, and yet to be ready to *bazard their Lives and Fortunes, and spend the last Drop of their Blood in Defence of his Majesty, and the Religion established by Law.*

It is one thing to be for the *Succession*, and another to be for a *Popish Successor*, as it is one thing to be for the *Monarchy*, and another thing to be for a *Popish Monarch*; and there are many for the Former, who as heartily pray to God to prevent the Latter, as for their daily Bread. But our Author, who is an excellent Artist in Fallacies, so words it in the beginning of his Preface, as to induce his Reader to think that those, who address to his Majesty to preserve the *Lineal Succession*, do make it their humble Request to him, that they may be sure of a *Popish Successor*, as if they had consulted *Cadbury* or the Fates, and were sure that his *R.H.* whom he

he means by the Popish Successor, without an Act of Exclusion, should certainly come to the Crown.

Nay so far are all those, who are so tender of the Succession, from having any tenderness for a Popish Successor, that they dread him like *the Plague*, and therefore would have had Provisional Laws made to bind up such an one, and put *him under very close legal Confinement*, in case he should be King. But nothing would serve the other Protestants but an Act of Exclusion backed with another for an Association, to which, I am confident, that *Nazianzen* himself, had he then sat on the Spiritual Bench, would never have said, *Content*.

And truly, to make the case of *Julian*, and his R. H. exactly parallel, we must not only suppose, that the Succession to the Empire was Hereditary, but that *Constantine* the Great had been murdered after a long Rebellion by the *Aerians*, his Son *Constantinus* miraculously preserved and restored, and the ruined Church restored with him; that from the time of his Restauration the *Aerians* resumed their old practises against the Church and the Monarchy, and underhand helped *Julian*, after he had left the Communion of the Church, to get an Indulgence for themselves and the *Pagans*; that the Church was almost ruined and the Empire much weakened by this Indulgence, and other Contingences; and that however the *Aerians* and *Pagans* were opposite in other things, yet they agreed in conspiring against the Established Christian Religion, even in the Senate, where they always voted alike.

We must also suppose, that the *Aerians* were generally Commonwealths-men, that they were a very busie and dangerous interest of men against the

GOVERN-

Government, that they took all Advantages against it, especially when the Peoples minds were distracted by the discovery of a *Pagan* Plot upon *Julians* Apostacy, that then they represented the Orthodox Christians, especially the Bishops, and the Clergy for *Pagans*, and *Half-Pagans*; that the Emperor had promised the discontented Senate (which now I must suppose like our Parliament) to pass any Acts for the Security of the Christian Religion, which were consistent with the Succession; that the *Western Empire* was satisfied with the Emperors Declaration, and had made it Treason to call the Succession into Question; that the Monarchy was weakly supported; that *Julian* was but ~~two~~ ^{three} years younger than the Emperor, and not of so healthful a Constitution; that the Empress might dye, and the Emperor marry again; that *Julians* own Children the next Heirs after him were firm Christians; that in case he should come to the Crown he would find an Empty Exchequer, and a poor Revenue; that the Senate would never Supply him, but upon their own Terms; that he could not persecute without almost insuperable Difficulties; that an Act for Dis-inheriting of him would be a very dangerous Precedent, and of dangerous Consequence, especially since the *Western Empire* had declared for the Succession; that it would signify nothing without an Act for Association; and that an Act for Association would legalize a standing Army, and entail War upon the two Empires, and end in Arbitrary Government. These, and many more things besides the Hereditary Succession to the *Roman Empire*, must be supposed to make the Parallel exact between *Julian*, and his *K. H.* and to make a good Consequence from *Nazianzens* sense about *Julians*

lians Succession in that Scheme of Affairs, to the sense he probably would have had of it in such a Scheme as ours. I am sure there is no Consequence from one to the other, although his Expostulations with the Soul of *Constantius* should not pass for mere Rhetorick, and if they must not, I desire Mr. J. to say, if they will not prove the Invocation of Saints? If they must be understood as Rhetorick, then they are (as indeed they are) poor Sham Arguments to prove either the Invocation of Saints, or *That the Fathers would have set aside an 100 such Titles* as that of the Heir of *England* to secure their Religion; but if they must not be so understood, then do they not equally prove both. Indeed were an Act of Exclusion the only way of securing our Religion, were it certain that the Popish Successor so presumed must if he were not excluded, succeed, or were the exclusion of him not the most disputable way of securing our Religion, and very hurtful to the Monarchy, or were it not, as the *Excluders* would back it with an Act for Association, attended with as pernicious inconveniences, as it would prevent, then indeed our Author might have better presumed to determine what the Fathers would have done in such a case; but since it is not the only Expedient, but such an one as is very disputable and dangerous too, he was, methinks, too bold with their Beards in asserting, *That they would have set aside an Hundred such Titles, to secure their Religion*, when other probable Means more agreeable to the Constitution of the Government, were offered for the Security thereof. In such a case the Fathers might have professed their Zeal for the Christian Religion, and yet like our Loyal Addressers, have made it their humble Request to the Emperor, not to have passed the

Bill of Exclusion, that is but one among other Expedients; and a man may be free in the Choice of means, without being *Guelph, and Gibeline at once*;

I am sure there is no such Contrariety in such Ad-
dresses, as for a Minister of our Church to write such
a Book as *Julian*, to be Lamb without, and Wolf with-
in; to wear the Churches Livery, and yet in secret to
list himself with her Enemies; to pretend a mighty
concern for Religion, and yet to slander the Primi-
tive Christians, and scoff at the Doctrine of Pas-
sive Obedience; this indeed is to be contrary to his
Profession, and to be *Guelph, and Gibeline at once*.

G 2

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Behaviour of the Christians towards Julian.

HAVING shew'd in the First Chapter the Falseness of his First Principle, That *the Roman Empire was Hereditary*, I proceed in this to lay open all his other *Shams* and *Falsifications*, by which, to use his own words, (†) he hath glossed away all his *Duty*, as a Christian Subject, and broken all the measures by which all the *Ancient Suffering Christians* went in former *Persecutions*.

For first, after he hath most artificially aggravated the Behaviour of the Christians against *Julian*, and made it look like very Criminal and Barbarous; then he undertakes to Apologize for them, telling us, That truly,

(||) P. 68.

(||) *their Case differed very much from that of the First Christians, and that they were in quite other Circumstances*; (†) The sum of

(†) P. 71.

all which is this, That *the first Christians suffered according to the Law of their Country*, whereas *these under Julian were persecuted contrary to Law*, it being manifest that *Julian oppressed them in a very illegal way*. He did not fairly Enact *Sanguinary Laws*, but he put them to death upon *Shams*, and pretended *Crimes of Treason and Sacrilege*, &c. And this their Suffering

ing against Law he brings to justify their seeming Misbehaviour, and Barbarous Usage of him; which after he had magnified to the height in Expressions not becoming a Divine, p. 66. then he adds, *But for the Name of Christians, he had better have fallen among Barbarians.*

I shall not examine the Merits of their Behaviour towards Julian, till I have proved that they were not illegally persecuted by him, because this being once proved, it must needs follow, That if they broke the Primitive Measures of Christian Subjection, and Obedience, they are to be blamed for it, and cannot signify any thing as a Precedent for us to follow, in case (which God forbid) we should be persecuted contrary to Law.

He tells us, That (†) *they so treated this Emperor, that one would have taken them to be the Apostates, and most falsely and plainly* (‡) suggests, like a Jesuit,

(†) P. 66.

(‡) P. 94, 95.

That they would have rebelled, but that they wanted Strength: *What* (saith he) *would they have a few defenceless Christians do, when they had lost their Strength? Have they never heard a West-Country-man say, Chud eat Cheese and chad it?* Nay he hath done his best to make it probable, that Julian was killed by a Christian. It is easie to guess whether all this tends; **His Reflections on the Behaviour of these Christians,** are to draw on his Reader, and prepare his mind for what he hath said upon *Passive Obedience*, and therefore to spoil the Precedency of their Behaviour in their *Words, Actions, and Devotions*, and to shew to what little purpose he hath written 6 Chapters about it, I shall here shew that Julian did persecute them legally,

because all his Orders and Decrees, how unjust soever, were legal, and in particular that *Juveninus*, and *Maximus*, who, he saith, were put to death upon shams, were notwithstanding legally put to death, because they were put to death by the Sentence, and Command of the Emperor, who was an *Absolute Sovereign*, who govern'd by Despotic or *Regal Power*, and whose very Pleasure was a Law. He may as well say, That a Man who dyes in *England* legisslatively, by virtue of a Bill of Attainder enacted into a Law, dyes illegally, whereas by the *English Constitution*, the King, and Parliament (or the King with the Consent of the Parliament) are legal Masters of every mans Life, and Fortune, and can put to death whom they please. In like manner what the King and Parliament, or, to speak in the words of Learned Chancelor

(†) De laud. Leg.
Angl. ch. 9.

(†) *Fortescue*, what the *Regal*, and *Political Power* can in conjunction do here, the *Regal*, or

Imperial Power could do alone in the *Roman Empire*, where, as *Dan.* speaks of *Nebuchad.* 'For the Majesty that God gave the Emperor, all People, Nations, and Languages trembled, and feared before him: Whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he set up, and whom he would he pulled down.

(II) L. 53.

This is most amply and elegantly set down by (II) *Dio*, who tells us. That 'all Power Civil

'and Ecclesiastical was in the Emperor; the Consular, Proconsular, Censorian, Tribunitian, and Pontifical; and that he had all this Power and Authority not by Force and Usurpation, but by Law, the Senate and People consenting thereunto.

'That

‘ That therefore all things were done according to
 ‘ the Pleasure of the Emperors, as in Kingdoms, and
 ‘ that though they were not called Kings, and Di-
 ‘ ctators, yet they had the Regal Dictatorian Power;
 ‘ that by virtue of these Offices they had Power of
 ‘ raising Armies, and Money, of making War and
 ‘ Peace; of making, deposing, and killing Senators;
 ‘ and in a word, of(†) putting any
 ‘ man to death as an expiratory
 ‘ Sacrifice without Tryal; who
 ‘ they thought injured them ne-
 ‘ ver so little in Word or Deed.

Furthermore he saith, That
 ‘ they were (||) above the Laws,
 ‘ and free from all Legal Necessi-
 ‘ tity, and might do any thing,
 ‘ having all things belonging to
 ‘ Absolute Regal Authority, but only the Name of
 ‘ King.

This is the Sum of what *Dio* saith of the Impe-
 rial Leviathan, to which the Civil Law agrees;
 which tells us, That (†) ‘ the
 ‘ Emperor was above Law, that
 ‘ whatsoever pleased him had
 ‘ the nature of a Law, because
 ‘ by the *Lex Regia*, the People
 ‘ had surrendered unto him all
 ‘ their Authority, and Power :
 ‘ Whatsoever therefore the Em-
 ‘ peror appointed by Letters,
 ‘ or knowingly decreed, or de-
 ‘ clared in his Interlocutories,
 ‘ or commanded by an Edict, was a Law; and his
 ‘ Laws in distinction to the *Senatus consultum*, &c.
 ‘ were called *Constitutions*, and they were either Ge-

(†) καὶ τὸ βαρχύ-
 τατον μὴ ὅπ’ ἐργῶ,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγῳ ἀδικεῖ-
 σθαι δέξωσι, καὶ ἀκρί-
 τον τὸν πωήσαντα αὐ-
 τὸ, ὡς καὶ ἱναγῆ, ἀ-
 πολύναι.

(||) λέλυνται γὰρ
 δὴ τῶν νόμων.

(†) L. 1. T. 3. 31.
 & T. 4. Princeps le-
 gibus solutus. 4. Quod
 Principi placuit legis
 habet vigorem, utpote
 cum lege Regia popu-
 lus ei & in eum omne
 suum Imperium & po-
 tatem conferat. Quod-
 cumque igitur Imperator,
 &c. Vid. I. L. 1. 2.

Lex Regia

(II) *Plane ex his quedam sunt personales, nec ad exemplum trahuntur, &c. ib.*

αἱ μὲν προσωπάλια
ἔχ' ὑπερβαίνουσι τὰς
ἐφ' ὧν ἐτίθεσαν. Theoph.

(†) εἰ δὲ καὶ πρῶ-
τα ἐάν πῶς τῶν ἐπτα-
κρίτων τῶ δέοντες ἐπι-
ταγή μείζονα. (Theoph.

(II) ἡ μόνον τῆς ἡ-
μετέρας πειρασίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Συμμάτων ἐστὶ κτετα. Theoph.

It was by this Plenitude of Absolute Legal Power that *Constantine the Great* put to death his Father-in-Law *Maximian*, his Wife *Fausia*, his eldest Son *Crispus*, and *Licinius* after he became his Subject, and Prisoner. By virtue of the same Power it was, that *Constantinus* put to death *Dalmatius Caesar*, and *Gallus*, *Julians* eldest Brother; and therefore it is matter of Wonder to me, that Mr. J. should lay down this groundless Assertion, That *Julian* the Emperor persecuted the Christians, and put *Juveninus* and *Maximus* to death contrary to Law. He

(†) Orat. 1. ad Con-
stant. — ἀλλ' ἡ Βα-
σιλέως τῶν νόμων ἀρ-
χόντες p. 83. ὁ γὰρ
Δῆμος τὸν ἐχέον-
τόνησε, νόμος ἐργί-
α τέτο κυρώσαντος, ὅς
παρὰ Βασιλείας τεθείς πᾶσαν Βασιλῆϊ δίδωκε τὴν Δῆμῳ τὴν ἐξου-
σίαν. Theoph. l. 2.

neral, or only (II) *Personal*,
which were not to be drawn
into precedent or example, as
his Indulgences to his Favou-
rites, his Acts of Grace to Cri-
minals, or his (†) Punishing as
he pleased those that were in
his Displeasure; all these were
personal Constitutions, for
the (II) Emperor was absolute
Lord of his Subjects Lives and
Estates.

might have been better instruct-
ed by the Apostate, in one of
his (†) Orations cited by
himself, in which he tells *Con-
stantinus*, That he lived more like
a Subject than an Emperor, who

had Power over the Laws. Methinks also his Super-
vifer, who should be well versed in the Fathers of
our *English Law*, might have taught him better out
of Chancellor (||) *Fortescue*, who
stating the Difference betwixt (||) De Laud. Leg.
a purely Regal and Political Go- Angl. c. 9.
vernment, explains the former
from the Civil Law, which saith; *The Prince his
Pleasure bath the Force of Law.*

Wherefore he was also much by the Cushion in
his First Chapter, where he asserts, That all the
Outrages, which the Heathens committed against
the Christians by the toleration and connivence of
Julian, were not only without, but against Law;
for *Julians* Connivence, or Approbation of things
against Law, or secret Direction to do them was a
sufficient declaration of his Pleasure, and had the
Force of Law. Therefore (†)

Philostorg. saith that the Hea-
thens in so doing fulfilled his
Pleasure; who, as (||) *Soz.* ob-
serves, however he did blame them
in words, [which was very (*)
seldom] yet underhand, and in-
deed he exhorted them to do what
they did; and (†) made the most
cruel and impious Heathens Of-
ficers both in the Army, and
over the Cities and Provinces,
whom he left to their own Discretion to treat the
Christians as they pleased; and when the Christi-
ans sent their Representatives to
complain, (||) he refused to ad-
mit them, or if he admitted
them he was only to tell them;

(†) Τῆς δ' αὐτῆς
γνώμης τοῖς ἐκείνων
ἔργοις πεποιημένους.
l. 7. p. 504.

(||) μέμνηται λό-
γους δοκῶν ἔργοις πρε-
τρέπειτο τὰς τὰ τοιαύ-
τα διρῶντας. l. 5. c. 15.

(*) Once the Alex-
andrians. Soz. l. 3. c. 3.
& l. 5. c. 9.

(†) Theod. l. 3. c. 6.

(||) Soz. l. 5. c. 3. Vid.
l. 5. c. 9. Naz. 1. In-
vect. p. 92.

That

(†) Socr. l. 3. c. 14.

(II) L. 7. 503.

That (†) they were bound by their Religion to suffer Injuries. (II) *Philostorgius* saith, He exceedingly rejoiced when he heard of the Christians Sufferings; all which were sufficient significations of his *Pleasure* in this Particular, that the Heathens should outrage the Christians, any former Law, or Edict whatsoever notwithstanding. Accordingly

(†) *Inveſt.* l. p. 74.

(†) *Gregory* calls his Will in this particular ἀγγραφὸν νόμον an Unwritten Law; For (saith he) the Emperor dividing his Power into two Parts, Perswasion, and Force; *Perswasion*, which is the Gentler Method, he took into his own Hands; and *Force*, as being the more Inhumane, he left to the People,

(†) ἡ περὶ ἀγγραφῆς δημοσίᾳ τῷ δὲ μὴ ἀνακρίπειν τὰς ὁρμὰς, ἀγγραφὸν πρὸς τοὺς νόμους τὸ βέβαιον αἰ. 1b.

(†) not by any Publick Edict, but by Toleration and Conivence declaring his *Pleasure*, which is an Unwritten Law. But our Author, as indeed he hath an excellent Talent that way, quite misrepresents the Case, (II)

(II) P. 12.

The Heathens (saith he) did not stay for Laws, and Edicts to warrant such Proceedings, —but as soon as they knew how Julian was affected, they took that for their Cue to act these Tragedies upon the Christians; They knew it would please the Emperor, and that was an Unwritten Law. How then did they act against Law, if the Pleasure of the Emperor so directing, was an Unwritten Law? They acted according to his Pleasure, which, as *Gregory* observes, was published unto them by his Words, and Actions, as plainly as by

any

any (†) Edict, and (||) the Pleasure of the Emperor (saith the Father upon the cruel Reprimand which Julian gave to the Governour of Gaza) is an Unwritten Law defended with Power, and much stronger than Written Ones, not supported by Authority.

(†) τὰντα ἃ πρό-
γερμα διογμῶ, καὶ
πολύ γε τῶν δημοσίων
περιθιμένων ἐναργέ-
σεον καὶ φοβερώτερον.
Invect. l. p. 92. (||) Ib.

Such sayings as these to his Governours, (||) What great matter is it if one Heathen kill ten Christians? were sufficient Indications and Directi-

(||) Invect. p. 92.

ons of his Royal Pleasure, to make it have the force of Law, and give it the nature of a Personal Con-

stitution by virtue of the Lex Regia, otherwise called (†) Lex Imperii, which exempted the Emperor from Formalities of Law, and Justice, and gave him Authority above all written Laws.

(†) Lex Imperii so-
lemnibus juris Impera-
torem solvit. l. Ex im-
perfecto C. de testa-
mentis.

I have now, I hope, sufficiently proved the falseness of our Authors Second Principle, that his Julian persecuted contrary to Law. And I have taken so much pains to confute it, not that it is necessary to do so, to defend the Doctrine of Passive Obedience (which as I shall hereafter shew would be best defended upon this Assertion) but to let the Admirers of Julian see, how he hath imposed upon them in falsely representing the Christians like Barbarians in their Behaviour towards their Emperor, and then in justifying of it by this Sham, That Julian persecuted contrary to Law. If any of them have taken the pains to read this Answer thus far, I hope they will make a Pause to argue to this purpose from what

what I have written in this Chapter: Either the Behaviour of the Christians was really as Barbarous and Exorbitant against *Julian* as Mr. J. hath represented it, or it was not; if it were, then they must bear the Blame of it, having no such Warrant for it, as he told us they had; but if it really were not, then he hath done neither like a Scholar, nor a Christian, to exaggerate and misrepresent it with a design to deceive the World.

I am afraid, The best Friends Mr. J. hath, cannot keep him from being Obnoxious to one of these two Consequences; and therefore in the next place let us enquire, Whether the Christians did behave themselves so like *Apostates, and Barbarians* against their Lawful Emperor, as he hath endeavoured to make the World believe they did. Surely if the Passages be examined, which he hath produced, it will appear that some of them are Dubious, others False, some Laudable, many of them Innocent, and those few that are Blameable, or that he would have to be so, Excusable in a great measure, and having nothing Singular in them, which have not been done to other Emperors before.

CHAP. III.

Of the Behaviour of the Christians towards Julian in Words.

I Shall begin with their Behaviour towards him in Words, as it is set down in his Third Chapter, where all along he most unjustly charges what was said but by one, or a few Christians upon the whole Number, altho the Examples, which he hath brought are nothing in proportion to the whole Eastern Empire, much less to the Western, in which perhaps not one Instance of that which he calls *Barbarous Behaviour* towards Julian, can be produced. At his rate of arguing from one, or a few Examples to the whole Church, a man may prove out of the Scriptures, that the *Christians* were a very untoward People, for there, as he is pleased to phrase it, *A man may almost lose himself in the great variety of Instances, which may be given of their great, and manifold Miscarriages*, if what some partioular Men or Churches did amiss, might be charged upon the whole Body of Christians, and be called *theirs*.

Thus saith he of the Christians in general; *They sufficiently required him for calling them Galileans, for they named him Idolianus instead of Julianus, and Pisans, and Adoneus from his worshipping of Jupiter, and Adonis; and Bull-burner from the great number of them, which he sacrificed.* One would think as he hath

hath represented the matter, that all the Christians used thus to Nickname *Julian*, and yet if we consult that place of *Nazianzen*, which he cites for it in the Margent, we shall find that it was not the general Practise of the Christians so to call the A-

postate in requital, but of some of one sort. (†) For (saith the Fa-

(†) Ἐπεὶ Βυλομέ-
νοις γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα
χεινοπομεῖν πολλὰ
καὶ ἐκείναις κλήσεσι ἐκ
τῶν ἐκείνου χειρία-
νοῖς αἰχλὺς τὴν καὶ ἡμᾶς
καὶ δικαιοτέρας. Γίγται
ἂν κωλύσκει καὶ ἡμᾶς
τῷ Βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὸ
Ἰσὺν ἀντιπαίζοντες τὸν
ἐιδωλιαδὸν χαλεπὸν, καὶ
τὸν πᾶσιον, καὶ τὸν Α-
δωναῖον, καὶ τὸν χαυσί-
ταυρον, ὅπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς
νῦν αὐτὸν τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν κορυφῶν ὀνομάζομεν. Naz. 1. Inveſt.
p. 87, 88.

ther) if the Christians had a mind to give new Names, they might find many base ones very fit, and applicable to him; for what should hinder us jeering of him as he doth us, to call him *Idolianus* and *Pisæus*, and *Adonæus*, and *Bull-Burner*, as some of the merry and facetious men among us have taken the liberty to call him?

But yet, though they were but the Facetious, and some of the Facetious Christians too, who called *Julian* by those Names; yet our trusty Author makes no Bones of charging the matter upon them in General: *They* (saith he) *requited him for calling them Galilæans, for they named him Idolianus, &c.*

But this is not the only Instance, where Mr. J. hath plaid the Jesuit with good Authors, and what fair dealing is to be expected from a man, who im-

poses upon his Reader in the very (†) first Citation, with which he begins his Book? *‘Constantine*

the Great (saith he) *Famous for being the first Christian Emperor, divided the whole Empire at*

his

‘his death amongst his three Sons, as a Father doth
 ‘his Estate among his Children; that part which
 ‘came by his *Ancestors*, the *West*, he gave to the
 ‘eldest——. This indeed sounds somewhat like
 an *Entailed Inheritance*, whereas, had he truly and
 entirely rendred the place, it would not have fa-
 voured that Design; For *Eusebius* saith, That *Con-*
stantius the Great (||) when he
 had gotten the whole World into his
 Power, he divided the whole Em-
 pire, like a *Patrimony*, amongst
 his three Sons; as being the most
 Beloved of his Heirs. That Part
 which came by his Father he gave
 to the Eldest——. There is
 some difference betwixt saying,
 That *Constantine* divided the
 whole Empire like a *Patrimony*, and
 as a Father divides his Estate,
 and very much, betwixt saying
 simply, That he divided it among his Sons, and that
 he divided it among his Sons, as the best beloved of his
 Heirs. It was not for the Interest of a man, that
 asserted the *Roman* Empire to be Hereditary, to let
 his Reader know, that *Constantine* had other Heirs
 in View besides his Sons, this would have given them
 to understand, That he might have passed by his
 Sons, and given the Empire to them, or made these
 Co-partners with those. So it was for his Interest
 to render *πατρῶαν λῆξιν* that which came by his *Ance-*
stors, as if the *West*-part of the Empire which *Con-*
stantine received from his Father, had Lineally de-
 volved upon him through many Hereditary De-
 scents.

(||) Ὡς ἔν ἑκατέ-
 ρων τῶν ἀκρῶν τῆς ὅ-
 λης οἰκῶμένης ἐκρά-
 τε, τὴν σύμπασαν τῆς
 βασιλείας ἀρχὴν τε-
 σι τοῖς αὐτῷ διήρε-
 πασιὸν δια πνὰ τε-
 τρῶαν ὕσαν τοῖς αὐτῷ
 κληροδοτῶν φιλάτοις
 τὴν μὲν ἔν πατρῶαν
 λῆξιν τῷ μείζονι —
 διένειμε. Euseb. Vit.
 Const. l. 4. c. 52.

But to return to the *Nicknames*, which the pleasanter sort of Christians gave unto *Julian*, what Injury did they do him thereby? There was nothing more common among the *Pagan* Emperors, than to *surname* themselves from their Gods. *Dio-clesian* assumed the Surname of *Jovius*, and *Maximian* of *Herculeus*; and if some of the Wits among the Christians sportingly did the same thing for *Julian*, that other Emperors did for themselves, what Precept of the Christian Religion did they transgress thereby? But these were (†)

(†) P. 32.

Instances of their Hatred and Contempt of Julian; perhaps they were so, but not of the Man, nor of the Emperor, but of the *Apostate* and *Idolater*, whom the Christian Religion would have allowed a *Confessor* to have called so to his very face. And be it known unto Mr. J. that many of those who have thundered so much of late with the *Theban Legion*, would think it rather their Duty, than any Breach of it, to tell not only a *Popish Prince*, but a *Popish King* to his Face, did he openly profess the *Popish Religion*, that he was an *Idolater*, a *Bread-worshipper*, a *Goddejs-worshipper*, a *Creature-worshipper*, an *Image-worshipper*, a *Waser-worshipper*, &c. which would be a far greater contempt of him, than to *Nickname* him from his *Popish-Idols*, and mock him with them behind his back.

But let us suppose that these merry Gentlemen did transgress the duty of Christians in playing upon the Name of *Julian*, yet there was nothing of tendency to Rebellion in it, nothing specifick that can tempt a man to think, that they did it because he persecuted the Christians contrary to Law. Our blessed Lord called *Herod Fox*, and St. Paul called *Nero Lyon*, and

and had Mr. J. found these Names for his Julian in the Writings of the Christians, he would in all probability have told us, that they looked upon him as a Wild Beast, whom every man had a right to slay. St. Cyprian in his Exhortation to Martyrdom, calls the Emperor Decius *Antichrist*; and in his Epist. to Antonianus, he calls him *Tyrant*, and *Raging Tyrant*, and Lucianus the Presbyter, in his (†) Epist. to Celerinus calls him the Great Snake, and fore-
 runner of *Antichrist*, which are

(†) Cyprian Epist. Oxon. edit. p. 47.

as ill Names, as any Mr. J. can shew that Julian received from the Christians of his Time. The *Proconsul*. *Proconsul*. In the Roman Empire, was in every Province the next in Authority under the Emperor, and yet Cyprian in the Reply, which he sent unto Demetrianus *Proconsul* of Africa, calls him, *Impious*, *Mad*, *Raging*, *Blind*, *Deaf*, and *Brute*, and he tells him in the very beginning of it, That he had long despised him; who barked with his Sacrilegious Mouth, and Impious Words against the one true God.

I do not justify the Father for this contumelious way of speaking, it seems to me not strictly consistent with that respect, which he ought to an ordinary Judge, or Subsellian Counsellor, as the Learned Annotator in the Oxford Edition, endeavours, against the common opinion, to make it probable Demetrianus was; but notwithstanding his Conjectures, to which I refer my Reader, the common opinion still remains as probable, and therefore may very well be preferred.

But of that very small number of Ancient Christians, who were guilty of rude and undutiful Language to Princes, none were comparable to Lucifer Calixtanus, who in his Defence of Athanasius, and

Tract of *Apostate Princes*, both written to *Constantinus*, calls his Majesty, *Persecutor*, *Heretick*, *Saul*, *Ahab*, *Murderer*, *Apostate*, *Impious*, *Antichrist*, *Liar*, *Executioner*, *Enemy* and *Despiser of God*, and *Destroyer of Gods Religion*, with many more most reproachful Names and Passages, which I love not to recite.

What would Mr. J. have given to have found *Julian* treated at this contumelious rate in any Christian Writer, especially in a Bishop of his time; he would doubtless have gloried in the Discovery, and it must not have been charged upon the peevish, and morose Temper, and monastick Manners of the Father; but it must have been solved, like his other *Phænomena*, by his new, but friendly Hypothesis to Rebellion of reproaching, and ruffling of *Julian*, nay of pursuing him like a *Midnight Thief*, or *High-way-Robber*, because he persecuted them contrary to Law.

His next Instance which he produces of *Julian*'s reproachful usage among the Christians, is the *Antiochians*; wherein he hath not dealt fairly in representing the matter so, as if the Christians of *Antioch* only were guilty of those abuses, which provoked him to write his *Misopogon* against them. For first it is plain, That there were yet a considerable number of *Hæthens* in *Antioch*, from the Anniversary Rites of *Adonis*, which hapned to be

(†) *Evenerat autem
iisdem diebus annuo
cursu completo Adonia
veteri ritu celebrari—
Et visum est triste, quod
amplam urbem intro-
eunti Imperatori, nunc
primum, ululabiles undiq; planctus, & lugubres sonitus audiebantur*
Marcell. l. 2. 2. Vid. Liban. Legat. ad Julianum. p. 162. Edit. Lut. 1627.

kept on the same day, (†) when *Julian* made his Entrance into the City, and it seemed to many a sad Omen, that the Emperor should then enter into it, when

so much howling, and weeping, and lamentation was heard. Indeed it is difficult to guess, what proportion the *Heathens* had to the Christians, but

if we may take measure from the City of (||) *Alexandria* at that time, they were enough to make head against them, though 'tis certain they were the lesser part. *Saxomen* after he

the lesser part. Sozomen after he had said in general, that the Antiochians reproached Julian, and that he wrote his *Misopogon* against the Antiochians, he immediately adds *Χριστιανὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰουδαίους ἔχον, καὶ ἑλληνικοὺς καὶ ῥωμαίους ἐκπαιδευμένους*, but the Christians that were there he treated as usually, and studied to advance the Heathen Interest, and Religion:

But Mr. J. without taking notice of the *Heathens*, covertly lays the whole blame of *Julians* evil treatment upon the Christians of *An-*

Antioch, (†) when all the Writers lay it upon the *Antiochians* in general, and assign the common Causes thereof.

These common Causes were first the great (II) scarcity and want of Provisions caused by one of *Julian's* Edicts, to lessen the market Prices, which made

(II) Socrat. Sozom. Marcel. loc. cit. Misopog. p. 90, 108. Liban. Legat. ad Jul. p. 155.

II) Sozom. de ciede
Georgii Alexandrii. 1.
s. c. 9.

(†) Socrat. l. 3. c. 17.
Sozom. l. 5. 18. Zōsim.
l. 3. p. 713. Amm. Marc.
l. 22. Juliani Misopog.

(ii) Socrat. Sozom.
Marcel. loc. cit. Miso-
pog. p. 90, 108. Liban.
Legat. ad Jul. p. 155.

(†) Misopog. p. 59,
60, 75, 78, 90.

These were the Common Causes, which set the Antiochians against him, who

(†) *Urbi propinquans, in speciem alicujus numinis votis excipitur publicas miratus voces multitudinis magnæ salutare fidus illuxisse Eois partibus acclamantis.* Marcell. l. 22.

(†) *Ἐπιδημόσαντα δὲ αὐτὸν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ, λέγεται φιλοφρονέσθαι αὐτὸν φιλοφρονῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τρυφῇ.* Zosim. l. 3. p. 113.

(†) L. 3. c. 17.

both the Heathen, and Christian Historians agree, and from hence it is plain, that the Heathens, as well as Christians at Antioch, were guilty of Burlesquing Julian, as appears out of his *Misopagon*, where for the most part he speaks of them in general, but

(†) *Ἐὐχὲ δὲ πολίται Σώφρονες—ταύτης ὑμῖν ἔγω τῆς δημοσίας συνήθειαι, καὶ εὐχὲ ποιεῖτε μία ἢ πόλις ὄντες τὰ ποιεῦντα.* Lib. ib. p. 164.

of *chi*, and *kappa*, which our Author seems to cite on purpose to make his Reader think they were all Christians, but then there are others which as certainly relate to the Heathens,

(†) P. 97, 98, 99.

at first (†) received him with the highest demonstration of Affection, and Duty, as if he had been some God. But (||) being by nature Lovers of Theaters, and plentiful and delicious Fare, which he despised, they soon began to hate him, and from hating of him, as soon proceeded to lampoon him, being, as (†) *Socrates* describes them, *Ἐπειμνοὶ ἰν ὕβρει*, a most invective People, and given to Libelling.

This is the Matter of Fact, in which the Matter of Fact, in which

more particularly (†) p. 87, charges the whole City, and all the Citizens without distinction, for loving to make, and bear Lampoons. Indeed there are some particular Passages in it, which relate to the Christians, as that

of *chi*, and *kappa*, which our Author seems to cite on purpose to make his Reader think they were all Christians, but then there are others which as certainly relate to the Heathens, as where he (||) chides them for not providing at least an Ox to sacrifice on the Solemn Festival of Apollo

Apollo, and for (†) *flocking un-*
sa him in the Temples, and receiv-
ing of him in them with Theatri-
cal Applause. In another place he distinguish-
 eth betwixt the Pagan, and Christian part of the
 People: *I have* (saith he) *offended most, I had almost*
said all of you, the Senate, the Wealthy, and the Peo-
ple : (||) *For most of the People*
are grieved at me, but especially
all those who deny the Gods,
because they see me addicted to the
Rites of our Ancestors. And unless
 there were a considerable Num-
 ber of Heathens among them, it
 cannot be imagined that *Libanius* would have writ-
 ten an Apologetical Oration for them unto *Julian*,
 wherein (†) he tells him, that when he was in *Gaul*,
 they prayed in private meetings for him unto *Jupiter*, that
 he might be Emperor.

(†) P. 67.

(||) P. 90. Ὁ μὲν
 γὰρ δῆμος ἀχθεταί-
 μοι τῷ πλείῳ μέρει,
 μᾶλλον δ' ἅπας ἀθεό-
 ηται περίνομεν, —
 ὅτι τοῖς πατέρεσιν —

(†) P. 162.

From these Passages it is plain, that the Heathens
 were exasperated against *Julian*, and guilty of his
 ill usage at *Antioch*, as well as the Christians; and
 that, the first occasion of their despicable carriage
 against him was upon a General Account, although
 afterwards he might become more particularly od-
 ious unto the Christians for removing the Bones of
Babylas, and shutting up the (†)
 Cathedral Church. But what if all
Antioch had been Christians, or
 what if only the Christians of
Antioch had been the Libellers

(†) *Majorem Eccle-*
siam Antiochie Clau-
di — Marcell. l. 22.

of *Julian*, or what if they had Libelled him mere-
 ly upon the account of his Apostacy, or Tyranny,
 what is that to us? Must we follow the Example
 of such Luxurious, Dissolute, and Profane Chri-

tians, who daily flocked to the *Theaters*, *Circus*, and *Hippodroms*, whither, the former Christians, would have dyed, rather than have come. It was against the very Letter of their Baptismal Vow, and was always aggravated by the

(†) Tertul. de Spectaculis. Igitur si ex Idololatriâ universam spectaculorum paratam constare confiterit, indubitatè prænotiatum erit etiam ad spe-

ted by the (†) Christian Writers as Idolatrous, and as one of the most provoking and dangerous Sins, which a Christian could commit.

Etacula pertinere renuntiationis nostræ testimonium in lavacro— Sed circo quid Amarius, ubi ne principibus quidem, nec civibus suis parcent. Ignotus autor de Spectaculis in Cypriano. Nam quando id, quod in honore alicujus idoli ab ethnicis agitur a fidelibus Christianis spectaculo frequentatur, & Idololatria gentilis asseritur, & in contumeliâ Dei—— ad scenæ jam sales inveniendos transitum faciam—— Salvian l. 6. In Baptismo salutari Christianorum prima confessio ut renuntiare se diabolo, ac pompis ejus, atq; spectaculis, & operibus protestentur.—— Quomodo Christiani spectacula post Baptismum sequeris—— Chrysost. Homil. 15. de calamitate Antioch. de penitentiâ. Hom. 8. &c.

Certainly their Scommatical and Burlesquing humour, was none of their Vertues; They were censured for it by many Authors, and commended for it by none, no not by (||) Theodo-

(||) P. 35. Theodor. l. 3. c. 28.

(†) (†) Socr. l. 3. c. 17. Sozom. l. 5. c. 19.

(||) Herod. l. 4. Περὶ ἧς καὶ τῶς Ἰουδαίων φιλοσώμῳνορες καὶ λέγειν εὐσεβῶς ἀπογορεῖται, ἢ παιδίας ἀποπειράσαντες εἰς τῶς ὑπερχοντας πάλαι.

ret, who only saith, they abominated Julian, without commending their Scurrility, for which (†) Socrates and (†) Sozomen justly condemn them, as an (||) Heathen Writer, did the Alexandrians for Burlesquing the Emperor Caracalla; But they paid

dearly

dearly for it, and if the *Antiochians*, our Author^s brave *Antiochians*, who followed their example, had been so requited, their Blood had been upon their own Heads.

They were the only City of the Empire, and the only Body of Christians in it, who thus abused the Emperor *Julian*; and had they done so for a sound Reason, which would have justified their doing of it, and given satisfaction to other Christian Cities, doubtless they would have done so too. But alas! it was the Evil Humour of the Place; they were given to libelling in Songs, and Pasquills; and to shew that there was nothing peculiar in their abusive usage of *Julian*; they treated his Successor *Jovian*, who was a Christian, and had been a Christian (†) Confessor under *Julian*,

Jovianus Imp.

as bad, or worse than they treated *Julian*, Lampooning him in (||) Ballads, and Libels, and Fragments of Poetry, for the Dishonourable Peace, which he made with the *Persians*, and for Burning a Fine Temple erected by the Emperor *Adrian* in Honour of *Trajan*, which *Julian* had converted into a Library with all the Books. Some of their Libels against him they (†) cast about the Streets for any to take up, others they fixed upon the Walls, and among

(†) Ἦντις Ἰούλιαν
νδς Διερσην τοῖς τρε-
πυομένοις ἐτίθει, θύ-
ειν, ἢ ἀποσχετινέειν
μᾶλλον τὴν ζῶντιν ἀ-
ποθνήσκειν ἐβουλετο. Sui-
das.

(||) Ὅτι δὲ Ἀνπο-
χεῖς ἐκ ἡδύως διέ-
κυντο πρὸς αὐτὸν,
ἀλλ' ἀπέσκηπτον αὐ-
τὸν ὁδοῖς, καὶ περ-
σέας, καὶ τοῖς χαλε-
μοῖς φαιμάκωσις, Ibidem
i. e. Famous Libellist. See. Justinio-
Excerpt. per Hen. Va-
lef. Ed. 1634. p. 345.
Vid. Suid.

Ibidem
See Justinio-
Excerpt. per Hen. Va-
lef. Ed. 1634.

(†) Ὅτι δὲ Ἀνπο-
χεῖς ἠγανάκτησαν κατὰ τὴν Βασιλείαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ ῥίπτου
τῶν βιβλίων εἰς τὸ ἔδαρθ', ὡς ἀναίρεται τὸν βυλόμενον, καὶ
ἀναγνώσκων τὰ δὲ τοῖς τοίχοις περσικὴν ἔχον. Suidas.

many more, which may be seen in *Suidas*, they applyed this following Verse in *Homer* unto him.

**Ἦλυθες ἐκ πολέμου, ὡς ἀφ' ἑλίου αὐτόθι ὀλέσθαι.*

*We see thee Safe; but wish some Persian Dart
Had struck through thine, as well, as Julians Heart.*

This is a great deal worse than calling of *Julian* *Bull burner*, and drolling upon his Beard. Nay, so fashionable was Scurrility, & Impudence among them, that an Old Woman beholding his Goodly Stature, took the confidence to say, *What a longitude, and profundity of a Fool is this!* And another took the boldness to Deride him openly in the *Cirque*, and Mischief had followed upon it, if *Sallustius* had not appeased the Stir. Had *Julian* been treated thus by them, we should have heard of it from Mr *J.* at both Ears, and then he would have brought them off with saying, *But it was Julian, and those who quietly submitted to the Laws under Dioclesian, do nevertheless pursue an Apostate, as if he were a Midnight-Thief.*

As for the Story of the *Berean* Noble Man, there is nothing in it, but what became a Valiant Christian; and as for that of *Maris* Bishop of *Chalcedon*, it is nothing to his Purpose, having nothing singular, or specifick in it to serve his Supposition about *Julian*, but is an ordinary Instance of that great Courage, boldness, and liberty of speaking, and acting, which was common among *Confessors*, by which they shewed to the Enemies of God, the Greatness of their Zeal to suffer for him, and how much they despised their Authority, and Threatnings, when they stood in competition with their Duty to God.

The *Jews* called this the Spirit of Fortitude, and the *Greeks* by the name of *πάρρησις*, which our Translation

flation renders (||) *boldness*, and (+) *confidence*: And from hence the Verb παρρησιάζομαι is used in the New Testament to signify that (*) *boldness*, with which the Apostles preached the Gospel in danger of their Lives; and from the New Testament both the *Noun*, and the *Verb* came to be used in Ecclesiastical Writers for (+) *Confession* in the special signification, as it signifies to confess Christ boldly among his Enemies in (||) *actual Torment*, or in *apparent danger of Torture*, or *Death*. Now this *Boldness* was always looked upon as the Effect of *Divine Zeal* and *Fervent Love of God*, as in *Appolos*, Acts 18. 25, 26. who being fervent in Spirit, began [παρρησιάζεσθαι] to speak boldly in the Synagogue, where he was in danger to be torn in pieces by the Jews. So *Eusebius* speaking of *Vettius Epaphras*, who at the hazard of his Life voluntarily undertook to plead for the Christians before the Tribunal, he saith, he had (+) *much Zeal for God*, and was *Fervent in Spirit*. It was also looked upon in part as the effect of supernatural courage, with which God was wont to inspire those, whom he called to suffer for his Holy Name. And therefore *St. Peter* prayed for it, Acts 4. 29. Lord (saith he) *behold their Threatnings*, and grant unto thy Servants [μετὰ παρρησίας λόγου λαλεῖν τὸν λόγον σου] that with all boldness we may speak thy Word. This inspired

Courage

(||) Acts 4. 13, 21.

(+) Acts 28. 31.

(*) Acts 13. 46. 18. 25, 26. 1 Thessal. 2. 2.

(+) Ἀγωνιάσῃς μὴ ἔδῃ τὴν ὁμολογίαν δι- νήσεται παρρησια- σθαι διὰ τὸ ἀδυνεὺς τῷ σώματι. Euseb. l. 5. c. 1. p. 128.

(||) Chrysost. Hom. 5. in Ep. ad Phil. Παρρησία καὶ ἀνδρεία εἶναι ὅταν κινδύνων, καὶ θανάτῳ χετατολμαίης.

(+) Ζῆλον θεῶ πο- λὺν ἔχων, καὶ ζεῶν τῷ πνεύματι. Euseb. l. 5. c. 1. p. 126.

Courage is most evident in very Young, and very Old People, as also in Women, who have little

(†) L. 5. c. 1.

(||) De Mart. Palest.

c. 4.

(†) C. 7. ib.

Natural Courage, as (†) *Eusebius* observes in the Martyrdom of Young *Blandina*, and old *Pothinus*, and many others, as of Young (||) *Apphianus*, and (†)

Theodosia the Virgin, to whom I refer the Reader in his History of the *Palastine Martyrs*.

Now the Persons thus inspired with Zeal and Courage, used ordinarily to shew it in the Freedom of their Speech before Kings, and Governours, especially before those whom they knew to be spiteful Enemies of their Religion, and Blasphemers of God.

(||) 2 Mach. ch. 7.

Thus one of the Seven Brethren in the (||) *Macchabees* called *Antiochus*, Fury, another told him

He despised his Laws, a third bid him remember, that though he was a King, yet he was Corruptible; a fourth called him Godless Man, and of all other most Wicked; and the rest threatned him with the Judgments of God. The three Jews in *Daniel* told King *Nebuchadnezzar* very bluntly; that they cared not to answer him in the matter of the Image, but if his Decree was so, God was able to deliver them, but if he will not, (say they like true Confessors) be it known unto thee, we will not serve thy Gods, nor worship the Golden Image that thou hast set up.

(†) Philostorg. l. 7.

p. 506.

When *Numerianus*, or *Decius* (for my (†) Author knows not which of the two it was) would have entred into the Cathedral

Church of *Antioch* in time of Divine Worship, *Bahylas* the Bishop standing in the Church-Porch, shut the Door against him, telling him that he would

not

not suffer him, who was a Wolf to enter into the Sheepfold of Christ. *Domitianus* was Famous among the Christians of *Palastine* for this singular Freedom of Speech, and is celebrated for it by *Eusebius* in the 7th Chapter of his History of the *Palastine Martyrs*; and in *Justin* the Martyr's first *Apology* we read of one *Lucius*, who standing by at the condemnation of *Ptolemæus* a Christian, boldly spoke to the President thus: 'What reason hast thou, O *Urbanianus*! to condemn a man merely for the Name of Christian, who is neither Whoremonger, nor Adulterer, nor Murderer, nor Thief, nor Robber, nor is guilty of any one Crime; let me tell thee, thy Sentence is very unworthy of the Emperour, who is called *Pious*, and of his Son surnamed *Philosophus*, and of the Senate, which is styled the Holy.

It would be endless to enumerate all the Examples of the *Confessorian Parrhesia*, or Liberty of Speech; there are Examples of it in most Persecutions, but these may suffice to let Mr. J's Admirers see, how Fallacioustly he hath dealt with them, in representing the Free Speeches of the *Berean Noble-Man*, and *Maris the Bishop*, unto *Julian*, as singular Instances of Contempt, whereas such Freedom was of ordinary practise in former Persecutions among Christian Confessors, a sort of men, I fear, for whom he hath but little Veneration, or Respect.

But more particularly, as to *Maris Bishop of Chalcedon*, if there be any thing singular, or unjustifiable in that Dialogue of his with *Julian*, it may fairly be laid at his own Door, who was a most violent *Arrian*, guilty of many blameworthy Practises, which are not to be put upon the general Account,

*Maris Bp.
of Chalcedon.*

(t) He

(†) Gelaf. ~~1. 2.~~ 1. 2.
c. 2. Acta Metroph. 2.
pud Phot. Cod. 256.

(||) Socrat. l. 1. c.
c. 27, 31, 35.

(*) Socrat. l. 2. c. 12.

cedonius Bishop of Constantinople [after Eusebius died] in opposition to Paulus elected by the Ortho-

(†) Id. lib. c. 2. 41.

in a Council of 50 Bishops at Constantinople, where they abrogated the words *σοία* and *ὑπόστασις*.

(||) Sozom. l. 4. c. 24.

Charge against him of *breaking the Chalice*, &c. in a Parish Church of *Marzotis*, and afterwards

(*) Sozom. l. 2. c. 25.

(†) Ib. c. 28.

(||) L. 2. c. 25.

(*) Lib. 1. c. 30.

(†) Theodor. l. 2.
c. 8.

of the Council of *Sardica* in their Synodical Epistle, reckon him among the False Accusers of *Athanasius*, *Marcellus*, and *Asclepas*, though they do not depose him with the rest of his *Arrian* Accomplices,

all

(†) He was one of the 18 Bishops in the *Nicene* Council that defended *Arrius*, and his Doctrine; (||) he was one of *Athanasius* his most bitter Enemies; (*) he is reckoned among the *Arrianizers*, that ordained *Mac-*
edonius Bishop of Constantinople [after Eusebius died] in opposition to Paulus elected by the Orthodox. (†) He is called an *Aca-*

*si-*an, and subscribed the Confession of the Council of *Arimini*,

(||) He was one that witnessed against *Athanasius* in the Council of *Tyre*, attesting the

before (*) the Emperor *Constantine*. (†) He was one of the

Bishops sent by the Council of *Tyre* into *Aegypt* to enquire into the matter, where (||) *Sozom.*

saith, they managed the Enquiry partially; but (*) *Theodoret*

plainly accuses him and his Companions, of framing a Lye against him, forgeing false Acts, and re-

viuing the old confuted Slanders against him. Lastly the (†) Fathers

all which shew that he was a Man of Heterodox Opinions and Irregular Practises, whose Example ought not to be cited, as a Precedent to conclude any thing in general upon the Christians, or Bishops of his Time.

In the Conclusion of the Chapter he tells us, 'That it would be endless to reckon up the Sayings of Juveninus, and Maximus in their Anniversary Sermon of St. Chrysost, of those Souldiers that were trepanned into Sacrificing by Julian, and of many others, who did not spare him in the least. One would wonder how this man should come to be so learned in all that was said against Ju-

lian, but that Peravius in 4 lines hath directed him to all that ever was written against him, out of which he hath taken all that was for his purpose; and notwithstanding he tells his Reader, that he must be satisfied with a Taste, yet he hath served him up with his whole Store. For the Sayings of Juven. and Max. and of those Souldiers, whom Julian had trepanned to sacrifice, are so far from making for him, that they are very much against him, or else we may be sure, had they been to his purpose, they had not been suppressed. As for the former, they are such as they said at Table; such as they said when they were cast into Prison for what they had said at Table; such as they said to those whom Julian under-hand sent to tempt them in Prison; or lastly, to give him the benefit of Theodoret, such as they said to the Emperor himself.

That

(II) De Juliano Testimonja before Juliano Works. — Visuperationem autem apud Gregorium Nazianz. Stesentica 11. at Cyrill. Meminit & Chrysostomus contra Judaeos. Hom. 13. & in S.S. Juveninum & Maximum & in S. Babylon. Item Hieron. in 3. cap. Habacuc. August. vi. de civitate Dei. cap. 25.

— That which they said at Table among other Soldiers by way of Discourse, was this: 'They bewailed the Sadness of the Times they lived in, and 'blessed the former days. They said it was not 'worth the while to live, to see the Holy Laws trodden under foot, the Lord of all put to open shame, 'and to behold all places so full of the Nidor and 'Smoke of profane Sacrifices, that a man could not 'breath in pure Air. When they were in Prison, they exceedingly rejoyced and said, *They had no further need of Money, or Fine Cloathes.* To the Tempters, whom *Julian* sent to tempt them with hopes of greater Honours, and the Example of other Officers who had lapsed, they answered thus; *We are resolved for this Reason to stand out manfully, that we may offer up our selves as it were Sacrifices* 'to expiate for 'their Fall: For if we do not dye now, we shall 'dye (we are certain) shortly after; and it is better to dye for the King of Angels, than in the Service of such a Wicked Man; it is better to lay 'down our Lives for an Heavenly Kingdom, than 'for an Earthly one, which we tread under foot. 'for if a man dye in the Emperors Service, he can 'receive no Reward for his Valour, nay perhaps he 'may not get a Grave, but be left to be devoured 'by Dogs; but if we dye for the King of Angels, 'we shall be sure to receive Glorious Bodies, and 'to have Crowns and Rewards greater than our 'Sufferings can deserve. Wherefore let us take up 'Spiritual Weapons; we have no need of Darts and 'Arrows, and other Bodily Armour, our Tongues '[by which we are to confess Christ] are sufficient 'Arms for us, and out of our Mouths shall we 'shoot Arrows against the Devils Head. These are the Sayings of these two Captains in *St. Chrysost.*

but they sounded so like the Speeches of *Maximian* and *Exuperius* in the *Theban Legion*, that our Author durst not recite them, lest his Readers should find out such a Famous Instance of Passive Obedience among the Commanders of *Julians* own Army, who were so willing to be put to death by him contrary to Law.

What they said to the Tyrants Face was this: —
 'We have been educated in the True Religion; we
 'have always been Obedient to the Laws which were
 'made by *Constantine* and his Sons; and now we
 'cannot but lament to see all things filled with Abominations, and even Meat and Drink defiled with
 'Impure Sacrifices: This we have bewailed in private with Tears, and now lament in your presence. This is all they said to *Julians* Face; and now all that our Author *saith* by it, (to use his own petulant Phrase) *he may put in his Eye.* (†) *Theodoret* commends their Zeal, and put this Confession wholly upon that Score.

(†) L. 3. c. 16. Ὁ δὲ παρρησίας ἀπορμήν
 ὑπολιπούς τὴν τῇ
 βασιλείᾳ ἐρώτησιν τοῦ
 ἀξίεπαυον παλαῖ-
 ξαντες ζῆλον.

As for the Souldiers who were trepanned to Sacrifice by *Julian*, this is the short of the Story: '*Julian* on a certain day called his Army unto him to receive *Donatives* according to their Quality, and places. The Ceremony was ordered as in the time of the *Pagan* Emperors: The Emperor sat in great State, there was Gold set before him on one hand, and Frankincense on the other, and the Souldiers were told, that according to Ancient Custom they were to cast a bit of this into the Fire, before they re-

Donatives.

*Vid. Sozom lib. 5.
 c. 17.*

ceived

(II) *σεβτος θλως.*
Nazianz. p. 85.

ceived any of that. The (II)
whole Army, were ensnared,
some, it is likely, through love
of the Gold, but many of them
as it afterwards appeared, through mere Ignorance,
and Simplicity, and the specious pretence of An-
cient Custom : For when the Solemnity was done,
the Souldiers went to their Quarters, where they
eat together; and as some of
them (†) looking up to Hea-
ven, and signing themselves
with the Sign of the Cross;
gave thanks unto Christ : One

(†) *Χριστον ἐπι-
παιν μετὰ τῆς σφρα-
γίδος ἀνω βλέψαν-
τας.* Ib.

among the rest asked them, how they could call up-
on Christ after they had denyed him? How, re-
plied they half-dead with the Question, how have
we denyed Christ? Insomuch (replied the other)
as you have Sacrificed Frankincense, which is in
effect to deny Christ. Upon this immediately ri-
sing from the Table, they became like distracted
Men; and being heated with Zeal and Indignati-
on, they ran about the Market-place, crying, out,
and saying, *We are Christians, we are Christians in
our Hearts; we declare it to all men, and before all
men unto God, to whom we live, and for whom we will
dye. O Saviour Christ we have not betrayed thee, we
have not denyed the Faith; for however we have offen-
ded thee with our Hands, we are upright in our Hearts;
the Emperor deceived us, and we are not tainted with
his Gold, we renounce this ungodly Act, we will wash
it off with our Blood.* And then running to the Em-
peror, and throwing down their Gold, cryed out,
Sir, we have not received Gifts from you, but our own
Death and Damnation; you called us, not to Honour us
by them, but to mark us with Disgrace; Now do us who

are

are your Souldiers, the Favour, as to kill us for Christ to whom alone we are Subject; as we are polluted, so let us be purged by Fire; reduce us into Ashes, as we did the Frankincense; cut off our Hands, which we stretched out in offering of it, and our Feet, which carried us to the place; and give our Gold to others, who have not repented of that, they have already received: Christ is sufficient for us, whom we prefer above all things in the World. 'Having said this to the Emperor, they informed others of the Cheat he had put upon them, and exhorted them to make Satisfaction to their Saviours Honour with their Blood. The Emperor was very mad at them, but would not kill them, because they should not be counted Martyrs, but banished them.

If the *Theban Legion* was an Example of Passive Obedience, much more were these Souldiers of *Julian*, who behaved themselves with such Exemplary Modesty, and Submission towards an *Apostate Emperor*, who dealt so basely with his Army, and persecuted the greater part of his Subjects (as Mr. J. saith) *not only without, but against Law*. One would think upon Mr. J's Principles, that they should rather have mutined, and formed themselves into a Posture of Resistance against such a Lawless Tyrant; but instead of that, they speak unto him like Apostles, and desire to be killed for the Sake of *Christ*. Mr. J. knew this very well, which made him only refer unto the Story, which he knew not one of an hundred among his Readers would, nor one in ten could examine: I am confident neither of his Supervisers, neither he, who is now with God, nor he, who is still among Men, knew the Truth of these Stories; if they did, they were very ill-advised not

So blot out the Reference, which hath caused me to bring them upon the Stage: We thank them for it, and to requite them, we will *Thunder* no more with the *musty Thebæan Legion*, but *Juven-tinus*, and *Maximus*, and the Souldiers of *Julian* shall be our *Thundring Legion* for the time to come.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Behaviour of the Christians towards Julian in their Actions.

Our Author having shewed us how the Christians behaved themselves towards Julian in Words, proceeds in two Examples to give an Account of their Actions, which, as he saith, make manifest their Hatred to him, and how they held him in the very lowest degree of Contempt. We may be sure these two Examples are the best he could pick out; but as for the first, he hath unluckily taken off from it the Efficacy he intended it should have, by observing out of Theodoret and St. August. that Valentinian did what he did to the Sacrist, as a Confessor of the Christian Religion; which implies that he did it, not out of hatred to Julian, or with a Design to affront his Majesty, but out of love to his Saviour, and to own his Religion, and to testify his Fidelity to him.

For in those streights, wherein he was surprized, he was either to receive the *Sprinklings of the Lustral Water* quietly, as the Heathens did, and then he had polluted himself, or else he was bound to shew by some Sign, that he was no Heathen, nor Apostate, but a true Christian; and having no time to deliberate, which was the most decent, and inoffensive way, we need not wonder, that he struck the Sa-

(†) Πῶς ἔπαιον.
Theodor. l.c. 16.

or *crift*, or, as the (†) Original may be rendered, that *he pushed him with his Fist*. If he had spit in his Face, or in the Holy Water, or shaken it off his Cloaths, it had been all one; something was to be done on so publick an Occasion to own his Religion; and he could not do it more effectually, than by disowning the Heathen Rites.

(||) Ὁν εἶχε ὑπὲρ
τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ ἐπὶ
κρυφῇ ζήλῳ. Ib.

Theodoros saith, that he was not able to (||) dissemble the Zeal which he had for the Christian Religion; and if his Master *Julian* were offended at him

for it, and looked upon himself as contemned by the Action, it was an Accidental and not a Designed Offence.

2. His next Instance is in old *Gregory* Bishop of *Nazianzum*, in which he hath discovered much Partiality, and Disingenuity in rendring that obscure Passage of his Son so, as to make his Reader believe, that the good old man intended to kick *Julian*: For first it is plain, that the Text is imperfect, which made him confess, that he *had more trouble with that Passage, than with all the rest in*

(†) Ὡς εἰμὴ θάρ-
τον ὑπεκλήθη πρὸς ἡ-
μῶν πατεῖ, ἢ πρὸς ἐαυ-
τὸ συνέις, ἢ πρὸς
συμβουλευσαντος ἀ-
κούσας, καὶ τὸς πό-
δας ξανθεῖς ἀπὸ ἀλ-
γῆς, ζέοντος ἐπ' αὐ-
τὸν θυμῷ δὴ ζήλῳ
πρὸς τὸ ναῦ ἱερέως.
Greg. Naz. Orat. 19.
p. 308.

the Book; (†) the τῶν which goes before τῷ ἐμῷ πατεῖ hath nothing answering unto it; the Participle καὶ, seems to imply, that there is something wrong, and who can tell what ἀπὸ ἀλγῆς is? and therefore methinks though πόδας ξανθεῖς should signifie Kicking, and seem to refer unto the Emperor, as the words stand in the printed Co-
py

py, yet one would think that a Protestant Divine in Charity should have presumed, that this seeming Sense of that Imperfect Passage could not be the Real, because it is so absurd to imagine, that so Pious a Bishop, for whom, his Son tells us, God wrought as great a (||) Miracle, as for *Hezekiah*, should, contrary to the practise of all Christianity before him, design to stretch forth hand, or foot against his Sovereign, whose person (according to our Authors own (†) Confession) was Sacred and Inviolable, and ought by no means to have had any violence offered

(||) p. 304. 305.

(†) P. 84.

unto him. It was methinks a greater *Solecism* in Mr. J. than any he could make in the *Greek*, to think old *Gregory* had less Conscience than himself. If ye will believe him, he durst not offer Violence to the person of a Popish King; and yet this old withered *Lachrymist*, would have made no Bones of of Kicking *Julian*, no not when he was scarce able to creep. For in the next words to those, which he cites out of Young *Gregory* about his Fathers Kicking, he tells us of his (†)

old Mortified Body; and two or three pages after he saith he was so (||) broken with Age, and Sickness, that upon an Occasion when he had all his Zeal about him, he was scarce able to go, and yet (*) this dddy Body of an old Man, scarce able to breath, was resolved to kick *Julian* in the head of a Troop; and what is yet stranger, *Julian*, who had fought so many

(†) Τὰς γυναικας ἐκίνας δὴ δευτεροῦς κατὰ τὸν χρόνον Σαρκῆς.

(||) Γῆρα καὶ νόσῳ συντεταμμένῳ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν νεανικῶς ἵεται, μάλλον δὲ φέρεται.

(*) Ναρκῶ τῷ Σάματι καὶ μικρῶ τῷ στρατῷ. p. 311.

Battles in the Head of his Legions, having happily got Intelligence of his Design, was so terrified at the danger, that he ran away. Besides, it is not imaginable, that a Roman Emperor should put himself in the Head of a Captain and his Company of Archers to lead them on to the storming of a Church; it was very proper for him to command such a Captain, and his Company upon the Service, but to lead them on himself, was not consistent with the Emperors Majesty, who never marched any where, but attended with the Prætorian Guards,

These Considerations methinks might have made Mr. J. consider the *Greek* better, and if he had, he would not have thought it any *Solecism* to understand the Place of the Captain of the Archers, because he who led them on demanded the Church μετὰ τῶν περ-
σαιμάτων, according to, or by virtue of his Orders, which could not have been said of the Emperor, if he had demanded it himself.

But to make the whole Passage more easie, it is to be observed, That young *Gregory's* Design in this place is to shew, 1. First, How much his Father despised and undervalued all the Mischief that *Julian* could design against him; and 2dly. What means he used for his Destruction, and the Deliverance of the Church. Of the First he saith, That the Captain and his Archers, whom he led up against their Church, was an Example; and of the Second, that he not fearing the

(†) Δημοσία μὲν
ἐν τοῖς, καὶ δημοσίᾳ
ἐν τοῖς βάλλον τὸν
ἀλιττεινόν.

(||) Ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὴν

ἐκτετακτὴν παρέταξεν κατ' αὐτὸ περιβαλλόμενος —

times, prayed (†) Publickly among the people for *Julians* Destruction, and also in (||) Private, Fasting

and Praying, and lying whole Nights upon the Ground. Who (saith he) can be found, who more contemned Julian, or more endeavoured his Destruction than my Father? Of his Contempt of him, among many others, those Archers, and their Captain are a Proof, whom he (the Captain) led on against our Church, as one that would take it, or demolish it. For having assaulted many others, he came hither also with the same Intention, and demanded the Church [κατὰ τὸν παραγγελίαν] according to his Orders, or as the special Sense of the Word requires, according to the Emperors Orders.

This is the most natural sense of the place, and I find it accordingly translated by Bilibaldus Perkhymerus, the greatest Græcian of his Time, who was a great Collector of Greek Manuscripts, and who, if we may believe Erasmus his great Correspondent, (†) turned Nazianzen into such Latine, that no man need desire the Greek.

(†) Et eximium illum Christianæ Philosophiæ præconem Greg. Nazianzenum sic Latine loquentem nobis docet,

ut Græci Sermonis fontes nemo desideraturus fuerit. Erasmi. in Ep. Illustriss. Principi Georgio Saxoniz Duci.

His Words are these :

Hunc quis magis, quam pater meus despexisse, aut dissolvissse est repertus? Contemptus itaq; præ multis aliis iudex est præfectus sagittariorum cum suis quos ducebat, ut sacras domos nostras occuparet, aut subjugaret. Quum enim multos alios aggressus fuisset, huc quoq; cum eadem pervenit intentione, ac templum petebat cum mandatis.

I hope we have now pretty well secured the Emperors Honour, and laid the Kicking upon the Captain; but what then? Is it reasonable to think, that

a Bishop would kick an Officer, that came with the Emperors Orders? or that such a Feeble old Soul, as this would undertake to kick a Captain in the Head of his Company, or if he should be so mad, is it ~~credi-~~ possible to believe, that the Captain was afraid of his Toes?

No truly, these are all very great Absurdities, and therefore the

(†) *Vid. Vitam Perkeymeri à Conrado Rittershusio scriptam, & Wolfgangum Musculum in præfatione version. Greg. Naz. Excus. Basil. 1550.*

(†) Wonder of his Age, the Noble and Learned *Perkheymerus* saw nothing of *kicking* in the Passage, but goes on thus.

‘But he so far failed of accomplishing what he intended, that he was in hazard of being excluded by my Father, which when he understood either by himself, or by some others that told him, he went away, although he had illness, or pain in his Feet, seeing the Bishop did so burn with Zeal for the Temple, and with Anger against him. *Verum tantum absuit ut qua velles peragere, posset, ut parum defuerit, quin a patre meo excluderetur. Id quum per semetipsum intelligeres, aut ab alio quodam consulente audivisses, licet pedum dolore laboraret, discessit, quum Sacerdos irâ ac zelo contra eum templi causâ arderet.*

It is not to be doubted, but that *Perkheymerus* had very good reason from his own Manuscripts to translate this obscure passage, as he hath done, and particularly for his rendring of *ἡ ἀνὸς τοῦ ἁγίου*, although he had *Illness in his Feet*, for the Phrase being Synecdochical *τοῦ σώματος*, must be the *Patient*, and not the *Instrumental Agent* [for then it must have been *ἡ ἀνὸς τοῦ ἁγίου*], in reference to *ἁγίου*, and may be properly rendred in English, *Although he was bruised or battered* (with

[with Marching] in his Feet. And this sense, which makes *πιδας* the Patient unto *ξαρθεῖς*, is agreeable to *Phavorinus*, who renders *ξάινεσθαι* in the Passive voyce by *πάχειν*. *Ξάινειν* ἔλεγον τὸ τύπτειν, καὶ *ξάινεσθαι* τὸ πάχειν. *Ξάινειν* signifies to beat, but *ξάινεσθαι* to suffer, or be ill.

As for the Authority of his *Metropolitan* it signifies nothing, because the *Latine* which he hath cited is not (as he seems to think) the Original, but only the Translation of his Comment upon *Nazianzen*, and there is violent presumption to think that *πιδας ξαρθεῖς*, where the merit of the Controversie lyes, was in his Comment, as well as in *Gregories* Text.

But what if after all it should appear to be a kicking, and that this kicking was intended for the Emperor, what would Mr. J. get by one Eccentrick Example in 360 years from all Primitive Christianity, and particularly from all the Bishops of the Church? By his own Principle he was bound to condemn him, and not to propose him for an Example, because it was by no means lawful to offer any Violence unto Julian. It had been more agreeable to his Hypothesis to let it have been the kicking of the Captain, for though the persons of Princes are Sacred and Inviolable (||) yet (saith he) the Lives of Subjects under an Apostate (||) P. 86. Prince are not to lye at the Mercy of every Commission-Officer, or Janizary, no ! illegal Force must be repelled by Force.

I shall conclude this Chapter with a Remarque upon some of his petulant Expressions, altogether unbecoming a Man, that professes Divinity, especially one of his Robe. In the Story of *Valentinian* out of *Theodoret* he translates *νεῦρο* by Chaplain, where he

he would rather be guilty of a Solecism, than not to be Sarcastical, for he might more properly have

Chaplains

(†) Κορεῖν to sweep, hence *Suidas* renders it ὁ Ἐυρεπίσκω, the Cleaner of the Temple, and *Hesych.* ὁ Κοσμήων, he that adorns it.

(¶) τὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιμελόμενον, He that takes Care of the Temple.

rendred it (†) Sexton, or (¶) Churchwarden; but he had learnt of his Champions of the Faction, to ridicule the use of Chaplains in Great Families, because they are generally Loyal men, who are able and willing to defend the King, and the Church.

In the Story of Old *Gregory*, upon whom he was resolved to fasten the kicking of *Julian*, he scottically calls him one of the Old *Lachrymists*, to please the wretched Humour of the same sort of men, who love to droll upon the Doctrine of the Cross. But however he hath taken the liberty to abuse the Memory of that Holy, and Zealous Father, he was no more then a *Lachrymist*, he never designed any personal Violence to *Julian*, but only to keep his Church-Door against the Captain of his Archers, who was sent to take it, or destroy it; and there was nothing singular in that, which had been done by *Babylas* Bishop of *Antioch* against *Decius*, and afterwards by St. (†) *Ambrose* against *Theodosius*, and might per-

(†) Theodor. l. 5. c. 18.

haps be innocently done in the like circumstances by a Prote-

stant Bishop, who will be a Confessor, against his own Prince.

Last of all, as it were in triumph over the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, I know no more than

the Pope of Rome (saith he) ~~what~~ to make of all this, what they (Valentinian and Gregory) meant by it, or upon what Principles these men proceeded, whether the Laws of their Country allowed them to offer Violence to their Lawful Emperor? — But now it appears they offered him no Violence, or if they had, does he not know whether the Laws of their Country allowed them to do so? If he did not, he was very ignorant, and if he did, he was very dis-ingenuous to say so against his own Knowledge, and then he thinks he concludes bravely with a Sarcasme upon the Excellent Primate, and Bishops of Scotland, only this we may be assured of, that none of those Bishops (Maris nor Old Gregory) had ever been in Scotland, nor had learnt to fawn upon an Apostate, and a mortal Enemy to their Religion. His R. H. is much obliged to him for his New Titles; His Majesty for the Honour he hath done his only Brother, and Viceroy in his other Kingdom; and the other half of the British Bishops for being represented as a Company of Fawning Spanels upon an Apostate, and the utter Enemy of their Religion.

This is a Doubty Hero to attack a King, and a Prince; say his own natural King and Prince, with Fourteen Bishops at a time: Every one knows he alludes to the Letter, which the Bishops of Scotland sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to let his Grace, and their Brethren in England know, how much they were beholden to his R. H. for his Protection of them against the Churches sworn Enemies; and I can see no ground for the Justice of his foul Reflection upon them for this Action, unless Justice, and Gratitude be Crimes. If a Visier should do very kind Offices for the Christian Bishops, and Religion, in any one of his Masters Provinces, would

it

it be Fawning upon him for them to write to the Patriarch of *Constantinople* to acquaint him with it, and desire him to give him Thanks? Or to make the Parallel more exact; Suppose that in the *Western Empire* there had been of old a Bloody *Aerian* Faction, who held Episcopacy to be an Antichristian Usurpation, and who had bound themselves in a Solemn League and Covenant to Extirpate the Apostolical Function, and in pursuance of that Design had Rebelled against *Constantine*, and by the help of their Brethren in the *Eastern Empire* had conquered him, and then put him to death: That 12 years after it pleased God to Restore his Son *Constantius*; after which the *Aerian* Faction began again to assemble in Armed Meetings, which ended in a formed Rebellion; that after this Rebellion *Constantius* was persuaded to give them an Indulgence, by the Benefit of which they grew strong, and insolent, till at length they presumed to beat and murder the Orthodox Clergy, wheresoever they met them, and more especially sought opportunity to Murder the Bishops, many of which for Fear of them durst not live in their Diocesses; that they came to be so bold, as to Face, and Skirmish the Emperors Souldiers in Parties; that they assaulted the Patriarch of *Rome* in the midst of the City, and afterwards murdered him on the Road in a most Barbarous manner, and within 6 Weeks after his Murder universally rebelled; that after this Rebellion was over, *Constantius* sent *Julian* (a Prince who for his Excellencies had been the Darling of the People before he was suspected of Paganism) to govern the *Western Empire*, where he declared he would uphold the Church as it was established, both against *Paganism*, and *Aerianism*; that accordingly he cheer-

cheerfully procured a Law to prevent both the *Pagans*, & *Aerians* from having any share in the Government, Civil, Military, or Ecclesiastical; that besides all this he was most Exemplary Respectful to the Bishops, and Episcopal Clergy, and frequently renewed his Promises to them of upholding the Established Religion: Last of all, that all his Servants and Attendants were Orthodox Christians; that he kept two, or three Orthodox, and learned Presbyters in his Family, to Catechise, Preach, and Administer the Holy Eucharist, and do all other Spiritual Offices among them, as occasion did require. All this being supposed, let Mr. J. tell me, if it would have been *Fawning*, or *Justice*, *Gratitude*, and *Prudence* in the *Western* Bishops to send an Account of this most Generous and perhaps Surprising Goodness of *Julian* to the Orthodox Church, and Clergy, notwithstanding the general suspicions that went abroad of his being a *Pagan*, to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to desire him, when *Cæsar* returned to the Court, to give him Humble thanks.

Nay, I would desire Mr. J. to tell me, whether upon this Supposition, it would not have been great Impudence, and Malice in a Private Presbyter so to censure the *Western* Bishops, and miscall the just Civility, which they shew'd to *Julian*, *Fawning upon an Apostate* (although his Apostacy was never yet proved) and a mortal Enemy to their Religion, to which he had been so great a Friend.

CHAP. V.

Of the Behaviour of the Christians towards Julian in their Devotions, and first of their Psalms.

FROM the Behaviour of the Christians in their Actions towards Julian, he proceeds to their Devotions, and Prayers; where from one or two Examples he still draws a General Conclusion, endeavouring to make what was done but by one man, or once upon some special Occasion, so appear, as if it had been the General Practise of the Christians of the Roman Empire, *i. e.* of almost the whole Catholic Church. “*These Passages (saith he) which we have hitherto related were in common Conversation on——where the Christians might chance not to have their Religion about them—but when they go to Church and enter upon Holy Ground, or whenever they make their Addresses to God in Prayers and Praises, there one may expect to see the Flights of their Self-denying, and Suffering Religion. There one may justly expect they should lay aside all their Animosity against Julian, though he were their Enemy, and for that Reason pray the harder for him; yes so they do the wrong way, they cannot sing a Psalm, but they make his Confusion the Burden of it. One would think after such a General Charge he should have brought at least an Hundred Instances to prove it, but in all his Search, he hath found but Two; and the* First

First of them, which he sets off with so much shew, is nothing to his Purpose, because the Original words in the (†) *Hebrew*, and (||) *Greek*, which ours and all the Provincial Languages render by *Confound* from the vulgar

(†) יָבֹשׁ
(||) Ἀσχυρῶν τῶν

Latine, signifie *Confusion*, as it is put for *Shame*, as we say in our Language, Such a man was much *confounded*, that is, much *Abashed*, and *Ashamed*; or as the *French* ordinarily say, *Vous me donnez de la Confusion*, you make me *Ashamed*. So *Psal.* 35. 4.

Let them be (†) *confounded* and

(||) *put to shame*, that seek after my Soul, might be rendred; let them be put to shame, and blushing, that seek after my Soul. So *Psal.* 40.

(†) יָבֹשׁ

(||) ὀπίσσω

14. Let them be *ashamed* and *confounded* together, that seek after my Soul to destroy it, might be rendred, Let them be (†) *ashamed* and (||) *blush*, &c.

(†) יָבֹשׁ

(||) ὀπίσσω

The Words signifie, that shame of Mind, and confusion of Face with which a man is affected, who is, become sensible of his Error or Mifdoing; and so the Christians of *Ant.* in Praying after *Dauids* Example and in the sense of his Words, for the *Confusion* of the *Pagans*, prayed not for their Destruction, but for their Conversion; especially upon that Solemn Occasion, when the Bones of the Martyrs had silenced *Apollo*, the God of *Julian*, (in the Praise of whose Divinity he had written an (||)

(||) Orat. 4. 'Εἰς τὸν
Βασιλέα ἡλίου. Ad Sal-
lutium.

Oration) they could never more aptly and seasonably apply that Charitable Prayer of *David*; *Confounded be all they that serve*

Graven Images, and that boast themselves of Idols, worship him all ye Gods.

But that the Reader may perceive how apt our Author is to pick up, and mis-apply all Passages in Good Historians to his own Design, I beg leave that I may tell the Story after him, which in short is this:

Gallus Caesar.

'Julians Elder Brother *Gallus Caesar*, while he was 'at *Antioch*, being very much grieved to see the 'pleasant Place of *Daphne* so polluted with Idolatry, and Gentile Superstition, was resolved to

Sozom. l. 6. c. 19.

'Cleanse it, and Hallow it in this 'manner; He thought if he 'built an Oratory over-against 'Apollons Temple, and placed the Body of *Babylas* the Martyr in it, it would bring the Christians 'from the Town to Worship there, and so the 'Temple of *Apollo* would soon grow unfrequented. 'Accordingly it hapned, for from the time the 'Martyrs Bones were put there, the *Damon* grew 'Dumb, and so continued till *Julian* came to *Antioch*, where he found the Temple of his God neglected, and desolate; and when they told him 'that the God had not spoke of a long time, he pretended it was because he had been so neglected; 'and therefore to make him ample Amends, he offered him Sacrifices in such excessive Numbers, that 'the Heathens called him *Bull-burner* as well as the

(†) *Superstitiosus magis, quàm Sacrorum legitimus observator, innumeras sine parsimonia pecudes mactans, ut aestimaretur, si revertisset de Parthis, boves jam defuturos.* Marcell. l. 25.

'Christians, and (†) censured 'him for his Extravagance and 'Superstition in that point. Yet 'for all this *Apollo* stood mute,

till Julian again, and again begging him to tell him how he should succeed in his *Persian Expedition*, he at length answered, that he was hindered from delivering Oracles by the dead Bodies, which were buried so near unto him. Julian by this perceived, that he meant especially the Body of *Babylas*, though some other Martyrs were buried there about him, and therefore he forthwith made the Christians remove them all, as (||) *Theodore* saith; But (1.) *Socrates*, (2.) *Sozom.* and (3.) *Chrysost.* say, that they only removed the Coffin of *Babylas*, and as they carried it in solemn Procession into the City, the *Præcentors* sang *Psalms*, and the *Chorus* made up of Men, Women, and Children at every Pause, sang the 7th Verse of the 79th Psalm, *Confounded, or ashamed be all they that serve Graven Images, and boast themselves of Idols.* Julian not bearing this Disgrace, commanded the Leaders of the Procession to be apprehended: But *Sallustius*, his *Præfectus Prætorio*, who was then an *Heathen*, endeavoured to perswade him not to gratifie the Christians so far as to meddle with them, who were desirous of the *Glory of Martyrdom*. But when he saw he could not perswade him, he apprehended many Christians and put them in Prison, and tortured *Theodorus*, a young Man, whom he first seized, in the presence of all the People; and when he was upon the Rack, he sung over the same Psalm, which they had sung the day before in the Procession; and his wonderful Constancy in his Torments, made Julian cease from punishing the rest.

(||) L. 3. c. 10.

(1.) L. 3. c. 18.

(2.) L. 6. c. 19.

(3.) *Homilia de Hic-
ro martyre Babylâ.*

And now let any impartial Man judge, whether this was to call for Vengeance from Heaven upon the *Pagan* Emperor to sing Psalms upon such a triumphant Occasion? certainly if these had held their peace, the Stones would have immediately cryed out; could they do less at the removal of a Body, by which God was pleased to work such a Miracle, the Body of an Eminent Martyr, who had been their own Bishop? And could they say any thing, that could likely make deeper Impression upon *Julian*, and bring him to a sense of the Vanity of his Idols, than to pray to God that he might be put to Shame and Confusion by the Miracle, and especially to do it in those pungent words of the Psalmist, which he had read a Thousand times in the Church of *Nicomedia*; *Let them be confounded that serve Graven Images*—. The Apostle saith, that *the Word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged Sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of Soul and Spirit*; and in this Sense indeed, I believe, they hoped that their Psalms, and the Burden of them, might by Gods Blessing have proved *Darts, and Swords, and Arrows to cut the Apostate to the Heart*. Otherwise they knew the worst of it would be to suffer for the Testimony they gave of their Religion, but this they

(†) Πέποιεν τὸν τύ-
ραννον ἐπειγέσθαι δό-
ξης τοῖς ἐπιμένουσιν
Χριστιανοῖς μὴ πύχε-
σαι τὸ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς.

(II) P. 47.

were so far from fearing, that as (†) *Sallustins* told *Julian*, *They were desirous and ambitious of it*. But this Passage our Author very prudently omitted in his (II) Translation of the Story out of *Theodoret*, because he was

not willing to let his Readers understand, that the Christians had a mind to suffer under an *Apostate*,
who

who (according to his new Hypothesis) persecuted contrary to Law.

And to this great zeal, and desire of Suffering for Christ [which I shall hereafter insist more upon] is to be ascribed that Heroical Attempt of *Publia* the Diaconess, his second Example of singing of Psalms. This Woman, resolving to shew how much the Rage, and Threatnings of *Julian* were to be despised by all Christians, was 'resolved to be at least a Confessor, and therefore with a Company

'of Professed Virgins (†) *Forti-*

'fied with Divine Zeal, she was

'wont to sing Praises to God

'the Creator, and Redemer;

'and when the Emperor passed

'by, they would be sure to sing

'their Psalms the louder, ac-

'counting such a (||) furious and

'destructive Enemy of the Christian Religion to be

'despised and derided. Now at such times they u-

'sed to sing those Psalms especially, which Sarcasti-

'cally set forth the weakness of Idols, saying after

'*David, The Idols of the Heathen, are Silver and*

'*Gold, the Work of Mens Hands:* And after thus

'shewing the Senselessness of them, they added, *Let*

'*them that make them be like unto them, and all those*

'*that put their Trust in them.* He hearing them sing

'thus, was very much grieved, and commanded

'them to be silent at such times as he passed by;

'but *Publia* not regarding his Command, filled her

'Quire of Virgins with more Courage; and when

'he passed by the next time, commanded them to

'sing, *Let God arise, and let his Enemies be scattered:*

'*Julian* taking this very ill, commanded *Publia* to

'be brought before him, and without any regard

(†) Τῶ θεῷ Σήλω
καθολισμέναι. The-
od. l. 3. c. 18.

(||) Τὸν ἀλάστορα.

‘to her Age, Sex, or Virtue, commanded one of the
 ‘Souldiers to beat her on both sides of her Face, till
 ‘he had made it all Bloody with his Hands. But she
 ‘[*like a true Confessor*] receiving this contumelious U-
 ‘lage, as the Highest Honour, went back to her House,
 ‘but after her usual manner, she still pelted him
 ‘with her Spiritual Songs.

Theodoret, who tells this Story of *Publia* and her
 Quire of Virgins, ascribes it to their *Divine Zeal*,
 and afterwards tells us, that she received her cruel
 and disgraceful Beating, as the highest Honour,
 which is as much, as if he had said in *St. Lukes* phrase,
 That she rejoiced, like the Apostles, that she was
 counted worthy to suffer shame for Christ. This makes
 it plain, that *Suffering* is the thing, they would have
 been at; and if our Author had not been wilfully
 blind, he might in these Psalms have seen the flights
 of their self-denying and suffering Religion, who made
 themselves Confessors in that Exigence, and would
 fain have been martyrs for Jesus Christ. For
 — *Julian* out of Policy (as I shall hereafter shew)
 would not kill the Christians, because their Martyr-
 dom made them and their Religion more Illustri-
 ous; and therefore many of them, thought they
 should do God good Service to provoke him to break
 his Measures in putting them to death; endeavour-
 ing, as *Nazianzen* said of his Souldiers above men-
 tioned, to make themselves Martyrs, [*ὁρῶν τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς*]
 as much as lay in their own Power. Hence, as

(†) 1 Inveſt. p. 72,
 73, 74.

that (†) Father tells us, it was
 more delightful to the Christians
 to suffer for their Religion, than to
 see it undermined by new Arts;
 and therefore he complains of the Politic Gentle-
 nefs of *Julian*, as the greatest Cruelty, that ever the
 Chri-

Christians underwent. (||) St. Chrysoſt. tells us, That Julian used to ſay, That the Christians flew to Martyrdom as Bees to their

(||) Hom. in Juvent. & Max.

Hive: And therefore the true Ground why the Christians ſo provoked him, was not, that he Perſecuted them Illegally, but that he did not take the old way of Perſecution, which was ſo honourable to the Christians, and advantagious to the Church, of putting them to death: Or if here and there he put them to death, that he put them not to death formally, as Christians, but accused and condemned them for ſome other Crimes.

This indeed raiſed their Animosity againſt him, that he (||) envied them the Glory, and the Church the mighty (+) Advantage of a down-right Bloody Perſecution; and if their extraordinary Zeal in ſuffering Martyrdom, and watering the Church with their Blood did tranſport any of them, beyond the bounds of decency, or ſtrict Duty in their Behaviour to the Emperor, or thoſe who were put in Authority under him, it tranſported former Christians, as much.

(||) Καὶ τῆς τῶν μαρτύρων πικρῆς ἐφθένει τοῖς ἀθληταῖς. Naz. i. Inv. p. 72. Καὶ εἰμὶ θάττον παύσαιτο τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, σφᾶς αὐτὰς καταγέλᾶς ἐσθῆσαι, τὰς δὲ χρεῖστας ἐνδοξότερες ποιήσιν. Sallust. ad Jul. Soz. l. 4. c. 20.

(+) Καθάπερ γὰρ τὰ φεῦτα ἀρδευόμενα αὐξέειν περὶεν, ἢ τῷ καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡ ἡμετέρα πολέμεμένη μάλ-

λον ἀρθῆ, καὶ ἐνοχλῶμένη πλεονάζει, καὶ ἔτι τὰς κήτους ἐνδαλῆς ἢ τῶν ὑδάτων ἀρδεῖα ποιεῖν ἔωθεν, ὡς τὰς ἐκκλησίας τῶν μαρτύρων τὸ αἷμα ποτίζειν περὶεν. Chrys. Hom. in Juvent. & Max. Vid. Sozom. l. 5. c. 4.

In the Dioclesian Persecution, (||) Felix Bishop of Tubyza told

(||) Passio Sancti Felicis, Edit Oxon. ad

Calcem. Lactant. de Mort. Persecut.

the Governour of the City, 'That their Gods were
 'Stones, the Works of Mens Hands, which had Eyes
 'but saw not, Ears but heard not, Mouths but spoke
 'not, &c. and then added, [in the words of *Pu-*
blia] *They that make them are like unto them, and so*
 'is every one that putteth his Trust in them. And when
 'he was brought before *Anulinus* the Pro-con-
 'sul, he asked him *his Name?* to which he replied,
I am a Christian: The Pro-consul replied, I did
 'not ask what Religion you were of, but *what was*
 'your Name? To which he bluntly replied, *As I*
 'said before, so I say again, *I am a Christian, and a*
 'Bishop; which made the Pro-consul Angry. Might
 not a man here ask in our Authors words, 'Where
 'is the Reverence due to Authority? What dutiffulness
 'was there shewn by the Bishop in refusing to comply with
 'so reasonable a Command as to tell his Name? and had
 it been *Julian*, to whom the Bishop had been so un-
 compliant, then he would have triumphantly said,
 'But it was *Julian*, and he did not owe him so much Ser-
 'vice.

In the *Gallic* Persecution in
 the time of the *Antonines*, St.
 (†) *Euseb. Hist. Ecc.* the time of the *Antonines*, St.
 1. 5. c. 1. (†) *Attalus* would neither tell
 his Name, nor his Country, nor
 the City where he was born, nor whether he was
 bound, or free? but to all these Questions only an-
 swered in *Latine*, *I am a Chri-*

(||) *Ibid.* *stian*. And good old (||) *Pothi-*
nus Bishop of *Lyons*, who was
 prosecuted by the Magistrates, and People of the
 City, when the Pro-consul asked him who was the
 God of the Christians? answered very uncomplai-
 nantly, *If thou wert worthy, thou shouldst know*. Had
 this been *Maris*, or Old *Gregory*, or any other *Chri-*
stian

Christian that had answered Julian so, then it must have been brought for a Special Example of the Christians Hatred to Julian, and how they had him in the lowest degree of Contempt. I cannot (would he have said) find out any profound primitive Obedience in this Behaviour. Where is the Reverence due to Majesty? What Dutifulness did they shew in refusing to comply, with so Reasonable a Command as to tell their Names, or who was the God of the Christians, But it was Julian, and they did not owe him so much Service.

Methinks a Man, that could find so many Arguments to Justifie his Fellow-Subjects for Petitioning their Sovereign against his expresse Command, might have said something to Excuse Publia for her Non-compliance with Julian, and not have charged her with Disobedience, and breach of Duty for doing of that, which Theodoret, who hath so much Credit with him, ascribed to the Primitive Principle of Divine Zeal. He might have called to mind the Uncomplyable behaviour of Jesus before Pilate, of which Divines give this Account: That seeing Pilate so willing to release him, he would not answer him, as being afraid by his Compliance to prevent his Sufferings at the appointed time. In like manner many of the Primitive Christians, having

(†) very much Zeal for Christ, and fervency in Spirit to suffer for him, as Proto-Martyrs of the several Persecutions, did designedly behave themselves in that Stoical manner before the Tribunals, as being unwilling to prevent their own sufferings, or at least afraid to be thought Timorous, or willing to escape. More particularly in

(†) Ζῆλον θεῶ πο-
λὺν ἔχων, καὶ ζῆλον
τῷ πνεύματι. Eu-
seb. de Vettio Epaga-
tho martyre, l. 5. c. 1.

the Time of *Julian*, many to whom God gave the Spirit of (||) *Proto-Martyrs*,

(||) Καὶ φανεροὶ καὶ ἔργοις ἐγένοντο πρωτομάρτυρες, οἱ καὶ μετὰ πάσης περθυμίας ἀνεπλήρυν τὴν ὁμολοσίαν τῆς μαρτυρίας. Ibid.

did industriously provoke him to down right Bloodshed, for the Reasons above mentioned, and yet were never charged with want of Reverence or breach of their Duty to him,

in the Particulars by which they did it, or with doing any thing more against him upon that Account, than was done to other Emperors, or their Ministers by *Martyrs*, and *Confessors* of former times.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of their Prayers and Tears.

WE come now to *their Prayers and Tears*, which (saith he) (†) were the *Arms of the Church indeed, for they were Darts, and Arrows, and Firebrands, and Death.* Cruel Christians! so to dart their Prayers against Julian, and then to be so flippant as to express it by a Word which might more properly be employed to describe, the throwing of the *Javelin*, which afterwards stuck in his Liver. Oh but it was Julian! and in that Age those were accounted the best Prayers, and Tears, which did best Execution upon an Apostate Emperor, and contributed most to his Destruction.

This is a very pretty Declamation, and would almost persuade a man to think, that the Christians in *Julians* Time had *Army-Chaplains among them*, and that they prayed to the Lord of Hosts for his Destruction in *Field-Conventicles*, with Javelins in their Hands, and Swords by their Sides. The *Nightly Squadrons*, and lying upon the Ground doth much countenance this Notion; and if the unwary Readers of *Julian* be carried into such Mistakes by the Authors *Artillery-Metaphors*, as some I know have been, is he not to Answer to God for it? Especially considering, that after so many false and groundless Charges upon those Christians in general: At length

[(II) P. 95.

length he (II) represents them; as Rebels in their Hearts, and faith, That they made use of other Ingredients besides Prayers, and Tears in their Composition against a Persecutor.

I shall hereafter shew the Falseness of that Charge, and now proceed to examine the Justice of this. How doth it appear that the Christians in *Julians* Time prayed for his Destruction? The Charge is General, & like all other general Charges ought to be proved from a great Number of Particulars, especially since the Society so charged is little less than the Catholick Church. Doth any Author say in general, That the Christians prayed for the death of *Julian*; or can he furnish us with so many particular Instances in different places, as may, by the Laws of Induction serve to ground such a General Charge upon? But instead of that he presents us but with two Instances, which really are but one, even the Example of Old Gregory, and his Church at *Nazianzum*,

(†) Inveſt. I. p. 123. *zum*, for the *We* in Young (†)

Gregory relates to the Christians of that City, of whom he being one, speaks in the Plural Number, *We* called for the Sword and the Plagues of Egypt; and *We* besought him to judge his own Cause, &c. And then, speaking more particularly of himself, *These* (saith he) were my mental, and verbal Prayers unto God.

But what is the Practice of Old Gregory and his Church to all the Churches, and Cities of the Empire? Is this, without more Examples, sufficient to prove that the rest of the Churches in the Roman Empire did publicly strike the Villain [for so he renders τὸν ἀλκήριον] with their Joynt Prayers and Supplications, or that other Bishops generally, speaking
pri-

privately, Fasted, and Watched, and Prayed for his Destruction, and taught their People so to do? Would the singular Practise of one *English* Bishop, and of his People following his Example, be a sufficient Ground for a General Charge upon the whole Church of *England*? If it would not, how much less can the Example of one Bishop or Church in *the Roman Empire*, signifie any thing to prove the General Practise of the rest? But yet in our Authors Logick, one Instance is ground enough for a Lawful Induction. It must be *their* Prayers, and *their* Tears, and *they* followed *Hezekiahs* Example, and *they* darted these Prayers: But we need not wonder at his making an Induction from one Particular, when he calls the few Months of *Julians* Reign an Age, p. 55: In that *Age* (saith he) the best Prayers, and Tears, were those which did best Execution upon an Apostate Emperor. An Age

I do not question but that the Christians generally prayed for the Deliverance of the Church, but then it is reasonable to believe, that they generally pray'd for *Julians* Conversion at the same time: Of this we can produce one Example, though our Author (¶) saith, That he (¶) P. 96.
could not find so much as one single Wish among the Ancients for Julians Conversion, but all for his downright Destruction. If he could not, it was his own Fault, I fear the fault of his own willful Blindness; for in the very next Chapter to that (†) which he (†) P. 59. Sozom.
 hath cited out of *Sozom.* to prove 1. 6. c. 1.
 that a Christian killed *Julian*, he might have read of *Didymus*, whom the Historian calls

(||) *Vid.* Suicceri
Thesaur. in φιλόσοφ.

(†) Καὶ Δίδυμος ὁ
ἐκκλησιαστικὸς φιλόσο-
φος ἐν Αλεξανδρείᾳ
διατείβων, δια γὰρ τῆς
Βασιλείας εἰς τὴν θρησ-
κείαν διασφαλόντος
περίλυπος ὢν, διὰ τὴν
αὐτὴν ὡς πλανημένον, καὶ διὰ τὴν κατωφρόνησιν τῶν ἐκκλη-
σιῶν ἐνήσειεν τὴν καὶ τὸν θεὸν περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου. Sozom. l. 6.
c. 2.

calls Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς φιλόσοφος, that
is, an (||) *Orthodox Doctor* of
Alexandria, (†) who being in
great Sorrow for the Apostacy
of *Julian*, Fasted, and Prayed
for his Repentance, and for the
sad Estate of the Church.

Now from this Example, in our Authors way of
arguing, I might prove that the Christians prayed
for *Julians* return from his Error, and for the Deli-
verance of the Church by that way: I am sure it
is very agreeable to their Charity, to think, That
all would pray for his Repentance, that believed
him capable of Repentance; and that none abso-
lutely prayed for his Destruction, but such as
thought him utterly incapable of Repentance, and
that he *had sinned the Sin unto death*, for which it was
in vain to pray.

And indeed there was very good Reasons to pre-
sume, that he was Irrecoverable, and had the Ma-
lice of a Devil against Christ, and the Christian Re-
ligion, and good grounds upon that presumption to
pray for his Destruction, and after his death in that
unnatural Apostacy, *to lodge him*, as our Author ob-
serves, *in Hell*.

Now to make out this *Hypothesis*, let us consider
the Nature of his Apostacy; his Devotedness to the
Devil, and his Spite to Christ, and the Christi-
ans.

As for his Apostacy, it was first occasioned by his (||) Ambitious Thirst after the Empire, which made him go about *Greece* to find out Conjurers, and Fortune-Tellers, of whom he might enquire, if he should obtain his Desire. At length he met with a *Magician*, who promised him to tell him his Fortune, and to that end led him into an *Idoll-Temple*, where in the *Adytum*, or inner Recesses he conjured up the Devil, and there initiated him in the Diabolical Mysteries, & made him eat of the Sacrifice, which was an Abomination to Christ. This was after his Brother *Gallus* was made *Cesar*, when (||) being left alone, he had greater opportunities to converse with Astrologers and Magicians, whereof there was great plenty in *Asia*; and before this, as (†) *Gregory* saith, he was a concealed *Pagan*, using to dispute with his Brother *Gallus* in Defence of *Paganism*, which he would own in company, where he was safe. This is very agreeable to (||) *Marcellinus*, who saith, that he was addicted to *Paganism* from a Child; and yet to cover the matter, he professed himself (†) a Zealous Christian, going often to Church, and letting himself be ordained a Reader, and joyning with his Brother in building a Stately Church over the Sepulcher of St. *Mamas*.

But whatever his Inclinations were, we cannot date his Apostacy, but from his going into the Idols Temple

(||) Theod. l. 3. c. 3.

(||) Inveſt. i. p. 61.

(†) Ibid.

(||) L. 22. Et quam à rudimentis pueritiæ primis inclinatio erat erga unum cultum—

(†) Sozom. l. 5. c. 2.
Naz. i. Inveſt. p. 59.
Theod. l. 3. c. 2.

Temple with the forementioned Magician, where he virtually renounced Christ, although for many years after, till he was firm in the Empire, he still professed himself a Christian, and sometimes went to (||) Church. Yet in all this

(11) Ammian. Mar. l. 21. c. 2. *Utq; omnes, nullo impediēte, ad sui favorem illiceret, adhaerere cultui Christiano fingebar, à quo tam pridem occultè desciverat, arcanorum participibus paucis aruspicius auguriisq; intentus, & cæteris quæ deorum semper fecere cultores*———*Et ut hæc interim celarentur, feriatarum die, quem celebrantes mense Januarii christiani Epiphania dicitant, progressus in eorum Ecclesiam, solemniter numine orato, decessit.* (†) Id. l. 16. c. 5.

interim he practised Magic, and Demonolatry, for he (†) privately worshipped *Mercury*, and pretended to Revelations from *Jupiter*, and Visions of the *Genius Publicus*, while he was in *Gaul*. While he lay with his Forces in *Illyricum*, he spent much of his time in Gazing upon Entrails, and making Augurial Observations, and had the Death of *Constantius* foretold unto him by *Aprunculus*, from a Liver with a double Coat.

After he publickly own'd *Paganism*, there was no end of his Sacrifices, and performing of Magical Rites, and Ceremonies. (||)

(11) Amm. Mar. l. 22. c. 12.

He would sometimes Sacrifice an Hundred Bulls and Flocks of several sorts of Cattel at a time, and permitted every one, that would, to profess the Arts of Divination, of which he was a great Admirer; and out of his extream Superstition, for which he is censured by (†) *Marcellinus*, he opened the Prophetic *Castalian* Fountain in the Sub-

urbs of *Antioch*, which *Adrian* had shut up. Before he

(†) Loc. Cit.

he marched into *Persia*, he (||) consulted all the Oracles of the Empire, and (†) after his death there were found in *Antioch* Chests full of mens Heads, and pits full of dead mens Bodies, whom he had killed to inspect their Livers. And at (||) *Charra* in *Mesopotamia*, where he quar-

tered in his March to *Persia*, he went into a Temple, with some of his Secretaries in Magic, where they stayed some time; and when they came forth, he commanded the Door to be made fast, and sealed it with his Seal, and set a Guard to keep it, commanding, that none should go into it, till he return'd. But after he was *Slain*, they entred into it, and there found a Woman hung up by the Hair of her Head, with her Hands stretched out, whose Belly they had ript up, to Divine upon her Liver.

I have said thus much of the Apostacy of *Julian*, — and his Idolatrous and Magical Practices, to shew how reasonable it was for the Christians, to look upon him as irrecoverable out of the Snare of the Devil, and upon that Supposition to pray for his Destruction. But then the Reasonableness of this Presumption will better appear, if

we consider, as (†) *Sozomen* observes, That he was born of

most Religious Christian Parents, and initiated from a Child in the Holy Scriptures, and educated under Bishops, and Ecclesiastical Men. He was perfectly skilled in the Christian Religion, and yet fell from it both into Dæmonolatry and Magic; and what is yet worse, he Apostatized at first, and afterwards persevered in his Apostacy against the evi-

dence

(||) Ἰουλιανὸς δὲ
πύρραις ἐπισχετεύσας
βυλόμενος, εἰς ἀπαν-
τα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν
Ρωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν
χρησθεῖα ἐξέπαιψεν.
Theod. l. 3. c. 10.

(†) Theod. l. 3. c. 26.

(||) Ib. c. 27.

(†) L. 5. c. 2.

dence of Miracles, which makes it yet more reasonable to believe, *That he sinned against the Holy Ghost.*

pag. 141.

(†) Sozom. l. 5. c. 2.

Theod. l. 3. c. 2.

Inveſt. l. 1. p. 59.

For when his Brother (†) *Gallus*, and he went about to build the forementioned Oratory over the Tomb of St. *Mamas* that part which *Gallus* under-

took went up apace, but that of *Julians* had the quite contrary Effect: For in some places, as often as they laid the Foundation, so often the Earth threw up the Stones; and other parts of it, which seemed well built up, would suddenly fall down again; and frequently when the Workmen went to lay down a Stone, they would find a Resistance sensibly thrust it back again. The first time that he went into an Idols Temple, as above related, being frighted with the Apparition of the Devil, and the

(||) Theod. l. 3. c. 3.

1 Inveſt. p. 71.

terrible Noises, and filthy Odours (||) he met with there, he signed himself with the Sign of the Cross; upon which the Spectre

vanished, which caused the Priest to chide him, and tell him, that the *Demon* was not afraid of the Cross, as he thought, but abominated it, and so disappeared.

(||) Sozom. loc. cit.

(||) Another time, when he was viewing Entrails with some others of his Companions, there appeared the Sign of the Cross upon them circled about with a Crown; upon which they were very much afraid, conjecturing from the Crown, that the Cross would be Victorious; and from the circular Figure of it, that it would last for Ever, because a Circle had no End. But the Priest bid him to be of good

Cour-

Courage, assuring him, That the circular Figure about the Cross did portend, that the Christian Religion should be reduced within a little Compass, and not spread every where, as it had done.

Another time he slighted the Evening Apparition of the (||) Vines with Sour Grapes in the Confines of *Illyrium*, and the falling of the Dew in Drops upon his Cloathes, and the Cloathes of all his Retinue in the Form of a Cross.

(†) Sozom. l. 5. c. 1.

He knew, that the Bones of *Babylas* the Martyr, had silenced his *Apollo*, and that (†) his Temple was burnt by Lightning, as soon as they were removed. (||) He knew that his Uncle *Julian* the Apostate was presently struck with a Loathsome Disease in which his Bowels rotted, and he discharged his Excrements at his Mouth, after he had robbed the Church of the Rich Vessels which Constantine had given for Sacred Uses, and pissed upon the Altar: And that *Felix* the Apostate also died as suddenly by Bleeding, after he had tauntingly said, *In what Fine Vessels is the Son of Mary served?*

(†) Theod. l. 3. c. 11.

Sozom. l. 5. c. 20.

(||) Id. l. 3. c. 12, 13.

Philostorg. l. 7. p.

507.

(||) *Quibus ordinatis terrebatur [Julianus] omino quodam presentissimo. Felice enim L.C. profusio sanguinis repente extincto, eumque*

Comite Juliano extincto, vulgus publicos Julianum, Augustumque pronuntiabat. Marcell l. 23. c. 1.

Lastly, (†) When the Jews went upon his Instigation, and Commission, under the Con-

(†) Theod. l. 5. c. 20.

Inveit. 2. p. 111, 112.

113. Socrat. l. 3. c. 20.

Sozom. l. 5. c. 22. Phil-

lostorg. l. 7. p. 506. Vid. pag. 508. Ambros. Ep. 29. ad Theod. Chrysost. Orat. 3. Adversus Judæos. Rufinus l. 1. c. 38. 39.

duct of *Alypius*, to rebuild the Temple at *Jerusalem*, he knew how they were hindred after many successive Attempts, by Hurricanes, and Lightnings, and Earthquakes, and Fire rising from the Foundations, which killed the Workmen; and were attended with the Appearance of the Cross by Night in Heaven; and likewise with the sudden appearance of *black Crosses* upon their Cloathes; which things converted great Numbers of those, that saw them, and enquired into the Matter of Fact.

(II) L. 23. c. 1. —
Metuendi globi flammarum propè fundamenta, crebris assultibus erumpentes fecere locum, exustus aliquoties operantibus, inaccesum, hęcq; modo elemento destitutus repellente, cessavit inceptum.

(†) Sozom. l. 5. c. 21.

Christian to believe, that he might be one of those, whom it was impossible to renew unto Repentance, according to that of the Apostle; For it is impossible for those, who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the Heavenly Gift, and were made Partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good Word of God, and the Powers of the World to come, if they shall fall away to renew them again unto Repentance, seeing they crucifie to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to open Shame.

This did *Julian* in a most eminent manner, having an implacable Spite at Christ, and the Christian Religion, and deriding of them in a most blasphemous manner. As for *Christ*, he used to call him
the

The Truth of this last Story is attested by (II) *Marcellinus* an Heathen Historian, who lived in those times; but all these, and (†) other Miracles of his Reign, together with the Heavenly Vision of his Uncle *Constantine*, of which he could have no doubt, had no Effect upon his hard Heart, which might tempt a very charitable Chri-

the *Galilean God*, and the *Carpenters Son*, and the *Pagans* followed his Example, insomuch, that when *Libanius* by way of Scorn, asked an Eminent Schoolmaster of *Antioch*, *What the Carpenters Son was a doing?* He replied, *The Creator of the World, whom thou reproachfully callest the Carpenters Son, is making a Coffin*, meaning for *Julian*; and accordingly not many days after, his Body was brought in a Coffin to *Antioch*. And coming to under-

Theod. l. 3. c. 23.

stand that there was a Famous Statue of (||) Christ at *Cæsarea* in *Palastine*, which had been set up in Honour of him by the Woman in the Gospel, who had been healed of her Issue of Blood, he made it be taken down, and his own set up instead of it; but it had not been long up, before Fire from Heaven smote off the Head, and shatter'd all the Breast of it, and tinged the rest of the Body with Sulphurous Smoke. He wrote an (†) Epistle to the *Alexandrians*, and very likely to

(||) Sozom. l. 5. c. 21.

(†) Ep. 51.

many other Christian Cities, wherein he most scurrilously derides Christ, and the Christian Religion, saying, he was ashamed, that there should be one *Galilean* among them; and tauntingly telling them, That they believed him, whom neither they, nor their Fathers ever saw, to be *God the Word*. In his *Cæsars*, he represents the Christian Religion to be nothing else but a Sanctuary for Rogues, and Villains; and in his Epist. to the *Bostrens* he represents the Christian Clergy, as Tyrants, and Knaves. He (*) called the

(*) Τὸς δὲ Χριστὰς
ὡς παλαίους ἀνθρώπους
ἐν ἀμυῖαν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἡγούμενον
Theod. l. 3. c. 21.

(||) 1st Inveſt. p. 81. Christians by way of Reproach *Galileans*, and (||) commanded them to be called by no other

Name. And in ſhort, he ſet himſelf by all means imaginable to ſuppreſs Chriſtianity, and advance Paganism; or as *Gregory* ſpeaks, to enſlave the World to *Demons* again.

(†) Theod. l. 3. c. 2.
Socrat. l. 3. c. 12.

(||) L. 22. c. 10. *Illud autem inclemens, obruentum perenni ſilentio, quod arcebat docere magiſtros rhetoricos, & grammaticos, ritus chriſtiani cultores.*

(†) Socrat. l. 2. c. 1.
Sozom. l. 5. c. 3.

(||) Socr. l. 3. c. 13.

To this end he forbid the (†) Children of Chriſtians to be taught Poetry, Rhetorick, or Philoſophy, which was ſo cruel an Ediſt, that (||) *Marcellinus* blames him for it. He (†) cauſed all the Heathen Temples to be repaired, cleaned, and ſet open, and cauſed many Chriſtian Churches to be ſhut up. He (||) tempted the Chriſtian Soul-

diers by all Arts poſſible to renounce their Religion; and thoſe that would not, he turned them out of Service; among whom were *Jovian*, *Valentinian*, and *Valens*, great Officers, who were afterwards made Emperors, and the two former by the Choice of the Army. He hated Chriſtian Cities; whereof he (||) ſub-

(||) Sozom. l. 5. c. 3.

jected ſome unto the Jurisdiction of *Pagan* Cities: Others he diſfranchiſed of their Ancient Priviledges, and Liberties, and Conſiſcated the Revenues of their Churches to his own Exchequer. But as for the

(†) Sozom. Loc. cit.

(||) Socrat. l. 3. c. 13.

Cities where Paganism prevailed, he (†) favoured them, and would write to them to encourage them to aſk new Priviledges of him. In ſome places he (||) impoſed

posed severe Mulcts on those who would not sacrifice; in others (†) he deprived them of their Freedom, and made them incapable of bearing Office in any place of Magistracy, or Command, or of receiving any kind of Honours. He deprived the (||) Clergy of their Immunities, Honours, and Revenues, and abrogated all the Laws, which *Constantine*, and *Constantius* had made in their Favour; Nay he (†) Banished them out of the Cities, on purpose that the Christian Religion should not be taught in them; and in many places (†) commanded them to rebuild the Heathen Temples, which had been destroyed in the time of *Constantine*, and *Constantius*, which when they could not do, he tortured them, and other Christians with them, and cast them into Prison. He put the (†) Cruellest of Heathens into Civil, and Military Offices, on purpose, that they might vex the Christians; and underhand encouraged the Heathens to (||) outrage them in most barbarous manner, insomuch, that they digged up the Bones of Saints and Martyrs, and mixing them with the (†) Bones of Beasts, burnt them together. Nay in some places they tasted the Livers of murdered Christians, and sacrificed their Bodies upon their Al-

(†) Sozom. l. 5. c. 18.

Inveſt. l. 1. p. 94. πείσας μὲν παρρησίας ἀποστρέφειν αὐτοὺς, πάντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπιμαρτυρίαν, ἀλλόθεν, πανηγύρεων, τῶν διασθείων αὐτῶν.

(||) Sozom. l. 5. c. 5.

(†) Id. l. 5. c. 15.

(||) Sozom. l. 5. c. 5.

(†) Theod. l. 3. c. 6.

(||) Philostorg. l. 7. p. 503. Naz. 2 Inveſt. p. 126. 1 Inveſt. p. 87, 88, 89. Theod. l. 3. c. 7. So-
crat. l. 3. c. 11.

(†) Epiphan. Hæref. Anomæorum 76. In principio.

tars ; and when *Julian* heard of these Barbarities, he *very much rejoiced* : And if at any time the Chri-

(11) Sozom. l. 5. c. 3.

(†) Socrat. l. 3. c. 14.

1 Invest. p. 94.

that did them hurt.

(11) Ep. 43. ad Ece-
bolum.

greater ease into the Kingdom of Heaven.

Lastly, he went about to reform *Paganism* according to the Excellent Rules and Institutions of Christian Discipline, striving to bring it, as near, as he could in resemblance to those Methods, and Constitutions of the Church, by which he had observed Christianity had so prevailed in the World.

(†) 1 Invest. p. 102.

(11) Ib. Vid. Jul. Fragm.
Orationis. p. 528. & Ep.
49. ad Arfac. & apud
Soz. l. 5. c. 16. Vid. &
Jacob. Gotofredi. Julia-
num Orat. 2.

stians sent to Complain unto him, he either would not (11) admit their Deputies, or if he did, it was only to Mock them, and tell them, that they were bound by their Religion to (†) suffer Injuries, and to do good to those, And when he pillaged, and robbed the Christians, he jeeringly said, That (11) he did it *ἵνα εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν ἑξενῶν εὐνοδώτερον παρεμβῶσι*, That they might go with

For this reason *Gregory* calls him the Christians (†) *Ape*, because he set up (11) Schools, and Liturgies, and Hospitals, and Monasteries, the use of Commendatory Epistles, and Excommunication ; and took special care for advancing the Honour and

Reputation, and reforming the Lives of the *Pagan* Clergy, as the most effectual Means of drawing the People into the Temples.

Last of all, in the *Persian* Expedition, he wrote against the Christian Religion in Seven Books, which *Cyrril*, of *Alexandria* hath confuted in ten. And these

these Generals, without descending to (||) Particular Instances are enough to make it a violent Presumption, That *Julian* had a Diabolical Malice against Christ, and that he was one of those irrecoverable Apostates, who had trodden under foot the Son of God, and counted the Blood of the Covenant wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy Thing, and who had done despite unto the Spirit of Grace. He had hardened his Heart against Divine Miracles, like (†) *Pharaoh*, and therefore it is no wonder if some of them called for the Plagues of Egypt upon him. He reproached the Living God like *Senaccherib*, and that made some of them (||) like *Hezekiah*, 'Beseech God to 'bow down his Ear, and hear; 'and to open his Eyes, and see, 'how *Julian* reproached the Son of God, and 'thereupon to say, O Lord our God, we beseech 'thee to save us out of his hand, that all the Kingdoms of the Earth may know, that thou art the 'Lord God, and that *Jesus*, whom *Julian* doth so 'reproach, is thy Son, and *Christ*.

(†) *Gregory* saith, That he designed worse things against the Christians, than *Dioclesian*, *Maximian*, or *Maximin* ever did, and that he was (||) *Jeroboam*, *Pharaoh*, *Achab*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* all in one; *Jeroboam* in Apostacy, *Pharaoh* in hardness of Heart, *Achab* in Cruelty, and *Nebuchadnezzar* in Sacrilege; and therefore it is not to be wondred, That the Christians, who had such good reason to despair of the Conversion of such a Complicate Tyrant,

(||) 1 Invest. p. 87,
88, 89.

(†) 2 Invest. p. 110.

(||) 2 Invest. p. 123.

(†) 1 Invest. p. 93.

(||) 2 Invest. p. 100,
111.

rant, pray'd for his Destruction, because there was no other apparent way of delivering the Church. — And if it should please God for our Sins to Plague the Church with such a Spiteful Enemy of Christ, and suffer a *Popish Julian* indeed to reign over us: I here declare, That I should believe him incapable of Repentance, and upon that Supposition should be tempted to pray for his Destruction, as the only means of delivering the Church. I hope this Declaration is not (||) calculated, or fitted

(||) P. 89.

on purpose for the Use, and Encouragement of a Popish Successor;

but on the other hand, I must also declare, that I would do nothing but pray against him; I would draw forth no Squadrons against him, but such as Old Gregory did against Julian, Squadrons of Prayers, and Tears; I would dye rather than resist him, or those, that were put in Authority under him, and

(†) P. 81.

if this make a Man (†) a Parasite, Sycophant, and Murderer, the Christian Subjects of Ju-

lian were such, and I must be so unto my Lives End.

For when their (||) Hope in God was their only Armour, Wall, and Defence, as being altogether deprived, and cut short of Humane Assistance, then they betook them-

(||) 2 Inveſt. p. 123, 124. Montague in locum. *ὅτι μὴ οὐκ ἔστιν*: Non quod non pos-
sent, sed quod nol-
lent, abunde enim vi-

res suppetebant ad comprimendum tyrannum, ut docet etiam Augustinus, & noster indicat, cum adeo diffusas, & propagatas res Christianorum dicat, cum tam altas egisse radices, ut non nisi sub-
verso simul Imperio de medio tolli posse viderentur, sed patientiam dedicerant illi in Scholâ Christi cum verbo, tum exemplo commen-
datam, non Cælum & Terras commiscere, &c.

Selves

selves to God, who hears Prayer, and is able to repel the Threats of Tyrants. This the Father spoke, as shall hereafter be shew'd, not that they could not, but that as Disciples of Christ, they were *fettered*, and *manacled* with the *Slavish Principle of Passive Obedience*, and would not resist. But yet this Protestant *Bellarmino* had the Conscience (†) twice to wrest this Passage to the contrary sense, as if the Christian Subjects of *Julian*, betook themselves unto their Prayers, because they could do nothing else.

(†) P. 51, 94.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of Julians Death.

IN this Jesuitical Masque he goes on to the next Chapter, where, in pursuance of his Design, he hath used his utmost Art to insinuate, that the Christians conspired the Death of *Julian*, and that accordingly he was struck with a *Javelin*, thrown by a Christian Souldiers Hand. What else can be his Meaning, and Design in relating the Story, of the Schoolmaster of *Antioch*, who told *Libanius*, when *Julian* was ready for his March to *Persia* (where he was Slain) that *the Carpenters Son was making a Coffin?* And of his Deaths being revealed on the same Day, and in the same Hour, to *Julian the Syrian Monk*, although he was more than 20 days Journey off the Place.

Why did he not give us the Story of (†) *Julians* intimate and familiar Acquaintance, to whom his Death was revealed a day or two before it hapned, in a very remarkable Vision? Why did he not also tell us how (||) it was proclaimed the very same Hour in which he died, by Cælestial Horsemen, to *Dydimus* at *Alexandria*? and to a certain Judge at (†) *Antioch*, an Heathen, who, as he was watching by Night about the

(†) Sozom. l. 6. c. 2.

(||) Ibid.

(†) Zonar. L. 3.
p. 24.

the *Prætorium*, saw a Range of Stars in the Heavens, formed into these Words;

Σήμερον ἐν Περσίᾳ Ἰουλιανὸς ἀναίρεῖται.

This Day is Julian slain in Persia.

No, this would not serve his Design so well, for to have discovered the Commonness of these Revelations to Pagans, as well as Christians, would have left no room to insinuate a Christian Conspiracy; and besides, it would have too much confirmed the Report of his falling by the stroke of a
(||) good, or (*) bad Angel, which yet is no more strange, than that the Angel of the Lord should smite Herod, because he did not give Glory to God.

(||) Theodor. l. 3. c. 25.
(*) Callistus apud Socrat. l. 3. c. 21.

Indeed there are various Reports among the Historians, how he came by his death-wound. (†) *Amm. Marcellinus*, who was at the Battel, says it was uncertain, who threw the *Javelin*, but that the (||) *Persians* shortly after did upbraid them for Traytors, and Regicides, having heard by the Relation of some of their own Revolted Souldiers, upon an uncertain report, That *Julian* was struck with a *Roman Dart*. But (†) *Eutropius*, another *Pagan* Historian, who was then in the Field, saith positively, *hostili manu interfectus est*, That he was slain by the hand of the Enemy; and *Festus Rufus*, and the (||) *Epitome of Victor*

(†) L. 25. c. 3.

(||) lb. c. 26.

(†) Eutrop. lib. 10. p. 133.

(||) *Ab uno ex hostibus & quidem fugiente cento percutitur.*

report

(†) Lib. 3. c. 21.

report the very same. (†) *Sozomen* tells us, That it is uncertain who killed him, for some said, that it was a revolted *Persian*, but others, that it was a *Roman* Souldier, which was the more common Report. But *Callistus* the Poet (saith he, 'who was one of his Guards, and who wrote his 'Exploits in Heroic Verse; saith, that he was killed 'by a *Dæmon*, which it may be (saith he) is but a Poetical Fiction, but perhaps it may be the real truth, 'for the *Furies* (by which he means the Destroying Angels) 'have punished very

(||) Lib. 6. c. 1.

'many. (||) *Sozomen* saith, that when he was killed, the Air was full of Mist, and Dust, and Darkness, so that no body could tell who the Horseman was, who slew him; but that some said that it was a *Persian*, others that it was a *Saracen*, others again, that it was a *Roman*, who was offended at him, for bringing the whole Army by his Rashness and Folly into such streights. (†) 'For

(†) Theodor. 1. 3. c. 25. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ποτὲ, καὶ τερψῆς οἱ στρατιῶται σπανίζοντες, καὶ τῆς πορείας ἡγεμόνας οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀλλ' ἐν ἐρήμῳ χώρᾳ πλανώμενοι πῖν τὴ βασιλέως ἐγνωσαν ἀβυλίαν. Ὀλοφρεμένοι δὲ καὶ σέγοντες.

(||) Ibid.

(†) Lib. 8. p. 500.

the Minister of the Divine Will, (†) *Philostorgius* leaves

leaves the Fact between a *Saracen* and *Roman*, and saith, That many inclined to believe, that it must be a *Roman*, because the stroke was so sudden, that no Body saw when it was given.

I have been more particular in shewing what all the Historians have said of the Death of *Julian*, the better to set forth the Presumption, Malice, and Partiality of *Libanius* the Sophist and Magician, who as our Author tells us, was resolved to find out the Man that killed *Julian*, and he doth it thus: First he proves, That it was no *Persian*, because the King of *Persia* proclaimed a Reward to him, that killed him, but no body ever came to challenge the Reward: From hence he concludes, they were to look for the Murderer among themselves, but who among them could do it, but one of them, who did not live according to his Laws, and had conspired formerly against Him, and then having an Opportunity, put their Design in Execution.

It was apparently the Design of our Author, in setting down the Conjecture of *Libanius*, to persuade his Reader, that he was a Christian, who killed *Julian*; otherwise, why did he not tell us, That this was the Single Conjecture of *Libanius*, who was the Master of *Julian*, and a Magician, and a most mortal and spiteful Enemy of Christ, and the Christians. 2dly. That his Conjecture is supported only upon his own Authority, who saith, That the King of *Persia* proclaimed a Reward to him that killed *Julian*. 3dly. That he asserts a notorious Lye, viz. That the Christians had formerly (†) plotted his Destruction, &c.

But instead of this he brings in (‡) *Sozomen* justifying the

(†) Πόλλαι τὲ ἐπεβόλευον —

(‡) L. G. c. 29

Mur.

Murder of *Julian*, which indeed he doth not absolutely, but from the *Greek, or Pagan Principles* in answer to *Libanius*. 'It may be (saith he) it was true, 'that he who killed *Julian*, was a Christian; for it 'is not improbable, that some one of the Souldiers 'might take into consideration, how the *Greeks*, and 'all Men to this day, still praise the killers of Tyrants in *former times*, as men that were willing to 'dye for the Common Liberty, and delivered their 'Country-men, Kindred, and Friends. And one 'then can scarce blame him, who shews himself so 'brave for God, and for that Religion, which he 'approves. These words of *Sozomen* are to be taken as an Answer to *Libanius* the *Greek*, upon the *Greek Principles*; for if according to the *Greeks*, he deserved Praise, who would hazard his life, to kill a Tyrant for the Common Liberty, upon the same Principles, one would scarce blame a man, who does the same, for God, and for the Religion which he approves.

But although the words were to be taken absolutely, and not as a Reply to *Libanius*, yet they are no Justification, but only an Extenuation of the Fact. The Phrase *χαλῆ γε ἂν τις μέμνηται*, one would scarce blame, doth still imply in strictness, That such an one was to be blamed, though the Provocation was very great.

But what if it had been certain, that a Christian, perverted with *Greek Principles*, had killed *Julian*, what is that to the rest of the Christians of that Age? There was a very great number of the Murderers of our late Blessed Sovereign, who was put to death as a Tyrant, but yet it doth not follow that the Doctrine of Killing Lawful Kings, when they turn Tyrants, is generally approved among the *English*.

lish Protestants, though it may likely be approved by some, who, as Mr. Hobbes hath observed, have sucked in Ill Principles about Government from Greek, and Latine Authors, and, I pray God, our Author be not such an one; else why should he so sily insinuate upon the bare Conjecture of one Antichristian Villain and Magician, That he was a Christian, who killed Julian, even there, where it was his professed Design, to shew that they treated him like Barbarians, that they had no Reverence for his Majesty, but pursued him like a Midnight Thief, or a Robber. One would have expected such a Junius-Brutus-way of writing from a Bellarmine or Mariana, a Knox or Buchanan, rather than from a Minister of the Church of England, who in her Book of Homilies, which is one of the (†) best Books in the World next to the Bible, and to (||) which the whole Clergy of England have subscribed, teacheth her Children, (†) That it is the Calling of Gods People to be patient and on the suffering side, and to render Obedience to Governours although they be wicked, and wrong-doers, and in no case to resist and stand against them.

(†) P. 104.

(||) P. 101.

(†) 2 Part of the Sermon of Obedience.

But you will say in defence of our Author, That he called the Murder of Julian a (||) Traiterous Assassination, and in another place, (†) That he would rather have lost his own life, than have served him, such a slippery Trick. I protest, I am willing to be on the charitable side with Mr. J. and wish I could heartily believe, what he saith: But if indeed he thought it a Traiterous Assassination, and would have lost his own Life rather than

(||) P. 60.

(†) Preface p. 26.

than have been guilty of it, why doth he so industriously endeavour to prove, that he was a Christian, who did it, and that a Christian Writer justified the Fact, and yet neither blame the one, nor censure the other, according as they deserved? A man can hardly detest that himself, which he doth not condemn, much more which he likes in another; and besides, he hath with great delight and industry, most injuriously represented the Christian Subjects of *Julian*, as *Buchanan* and *Bellarmino* represented the Christians before them, as men that did not resist, not from any Christian Principle of Obedience, but because they were not in a *probable Capacity*, wanting sufficient Numbers, and Strength. Moreover, if he would rather have dyed, than murdered *Julian*, why doth he speak so slightly of the Fact, calling it only a *Slippery Trick*? The Learned *Monfieur Nicol* in his *Logique*, commonly called, the *Jansenists Logique*, distinguisheth between the *Principal*, and *Accessory* signification of words. The *Principal* signification he calls that which signifies the Thing, and the *Accessory* is that which signifies the Love, or Hatred, the Honour or Contempt, the Delight or Abhorrence of him, who speaks or writes of the Thing. As for Example, There are some Words to express Fornication, which besides the *Principal* signification, would plainly signifie, that he who used them, loved, and delighted, and was pleased with the thing. And others again there are, which besides the *Principal* signification, would signifie the Turpitude of the thing, and the Abhorrence which the Speaker, or Writer had thereof. The great difference in Words and Phrases comes from these *Accessory Significations*, and therefore methinks if Mr. J. who is a *Man of Art*, and a Di-

vine, would have had his Readers, especially the Serious Part, really believe that he would have lost his own Life, rather than have murdered Julian, he should have found out fitting Words to have expressed the Horrour of the Wickedness, and not have called it a Slippery Trick. I should be loth to trust my self in the Company of Fellows who counted Robbery, and Murder but Slippery Tricks, or commit my Daughter to the Custody of a Man, who, though he protested he would rather dye, than Deflower her, yet made no more of Fornication, than a Slippery Trick.

I think it not worth the while to give a particular Answer to the next Chapter, wherein he shews, *How the Christian Writers used his Memory*; only I shall observe that it was usual among the Ecclesiastical Writers, to call Tyrants, and Persecutors after their deaths, by such Names, as served to set forth their Cruel, and Bloody Nature. He may see if he pleases, what a reproachful, and ignominious Character (†) *Tertullian* gives of *Nero* and *Domitian*, and in general of the Persecuting Emperors before his time. He may see, if he pleases, what a lovely Monument (||) *Ensebius* hath erected to the Memory of *Maxentius*, and *Maximin*, not much short of that Stately One, which *Gregory* hath erected for *Julian*, and if he will go to *La-*

(†) *Consulite commentarios vestros, illic reperietis primum Neronem in hanc sectam Cesariano gladio ferocisse, sed tibi dedicatore damnationis nostrae etiam gloriamur; qui enim fuit illum intelligere potest non nisi grande aliquot bonum a Nerone damnatum.*

Tentaverat & Domitianus portio Neronis de crudelitate tales semper nobis persecutores injusti, impii, turpes, —

(||) Lib. 8. c. 14. *Eccles. Hist.*

Etianius, in his Book of the Deaths of the Persecuting Emperors, there, to use his own Phrase, *He may bless himself, to see what Titles of Honour he hath bestowed upon them*, although he wrote in *Latine*, which hath not the happy facility of compounding words, as the *Greek* hath. He calls *Nero* Execrable, and Mischievous Tyrant, and *Harbinger of the Devil*, coming to lay the Earth wast, and destroy all Mankind, with many more such Titles and Characters, which he may read at his leisure.

He calls *Domitian* as great a Tyrant, as *Nero*; *Decius* he calls Execrable Animal; *Valerian*, Impious Madman; *Aurelius*, Furious and Præcipitant Tyrant; and as for his Characters of *Dioclesian*, *Maximian*, *Galerius*, and *Maximin*, in whose Reigns he had lived, he hath set them forth as wild Beasts, as Monsters of Rapin, and Cruelty, and Rebels against God.

Nay, so far are the *Invectives of Nazianzen* from being a just ground of such singular Conclusions, and Observations about *Julian*, that *Hilary Bishop of Poictou*, wrote as keen, and bitter an *Invective* against *Constantius*, shortly after he died. There he calls him *Antichrist*, *Deceitful*, *Persecutor*, *Flattering Enemy*, the *Cruellest of all Cruelties*, the *most Wicked of Mortals*, *Ravening Wolf*, *Enemy to Gods Religion*, and the *Memory of Saints*, and *Rebel to his Fathers Piety*, &c. and compares him to *Judas* for betraying the *Priests of Christ* with a Kiss: Nay, he makes him

worse than (1) *Nero*, *Decius*, and *Maximin*, and wishes he had lived in their Reigns, rather than in his.

The Book is very little, if any thing, inferior to the *Invectives*, in Sharp, Bitter, and Contumelious Language, but charges him

(1) P. 289.

him home with Tyranny and Malice, and pursues him, as if he had been a Midnight-Thief, or a Robber; and loads him with the (†) *Anathemas* of his Father, and the *Nicene Council*, which is as bad, as Lodging him in Hell.

(†) *Anathema tibi trecenti & decem octo—
Anathema tibi Pater tuus est, cui Nicæa Synodus curæ fuit.*
p. 298.

M 2

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Shewing, That the Christian Subjects of Julian practised Passive Obedience, when they were in an Able Condition to Resist.

HAVING now shewed, 1. That the Roman Empire was not Hereditary; 2. That Julian did not persecute his Christian Subjects contrary to Law; and having in the Third place shewn, That there was nothing Singular, and Unparalleled in the Behaviour of the Christians towards that Apostate Emperor; nor any thing so Barbarous and unlike the Behaviour of Former Christians, as our Author represented it to be: I should now proceed to Examine his Ninth Chapter, wherein he hath endeavoured to evacuate the *Doctrine of Passive Obedience*: But as a Preparatory thereunto, I shall first take the Forfeiture of his Main Assertion, That Julian persecuted his Christian Subjects contrary to Law; and from thence shew, That Passive Obedience is due, by the Gospel, to the Sovereign Power, when the Sovereign persecutes contrary to Law. Our Author was aware of this Consequence, and therefore to obviate the Objection of the *Non-resistance* of Julians Christian Subjects, who was so Spiteful, Cruel, and Crafty, and, according to him, so Illegal a Persecutor, he represents the case, as if they were but a small and defenceless Number, stript of all

Humane

Humane Assistance; and so makes them to have been *Patient*, and *Passive* out of mere necessity; but however, that they had a *hearty mind* to Rebel, and wanted nothing but Strength and Numbers, to bring them into the Field. (†)

What (saith he) would you have a few defenceless Christians do, when they had lost all their Strength, and so many of their Numbers? Have they never heard a West-Country-man say, **Chud eat Cheese, and Chad it?**

(†) P. 94.

I thought to have shewn, how much Mr. J. hath play'd the part of a Jesuit in ascribing the Passive Obedience of *Julians* Christian Subjects, unto their weak and defenceless Condition; but I am prevented in that, by the Loyal, and Ingenious Author of the *Apostate Protestant*, to whom I refer the Reader, and shall content my self, to shew the Falseness of his *Jesuitical Evasion*, which, I am confident, though he had so little Conscience, as to assert, yet he could not be so ignorant, as to believe.

For First, If we enquire into the State of Christianity in the time of Paganism, we shall find, that in the Reign of *Severus*, when *Tertullian* wrote his Apologetic for the Christians, that nothing but their (†) Religion kept them from resisting the Forces of the Empire, when they were (||) more in Number, within the Bowels of it, than the *Moors*, & *Germans*, & *Parthians*, and all its Enemies without. Nay, he appeals unto their Judges, if all (*)

(†) Si non apud istam disciplinam magis occidi liceret, quam occidere —

(||) Si enim — decisset nobis vis numerorum & copiarum? Plures nimirum Mauri, & Marcomanni, ipsique Parthi? —

(*) Vestra omnia implevimus urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum, sola vobis relinquimus templa.

Places were not full of Christians? and tells them,

(†) *Potimus & inermes nec rebelles, sed tantummodo discordes solius discordii invidia adversus vos dimicasse. Si enim tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbis remoti sinum abruptissimus a vobis, suffundit utiq; dominationem vestram tot qualiumcunq; amissio civium, imo etiam & ipsa destituitio puniit, Proculdubio exparvissitis ad solitudinem vestram, ad silentium rerum.*

(||) *Tanta hominum multitudo pars pene major civitatis cuiusq;.*

This was an hundred and Sixty years before the time of Julian, and about Fifty years after this (†) Cyprian, in his Book to *Demetrianus*, tells him, *That they let themselves be apprehended without Resistance, nor endeavoured to revenge the Injuries they suffered, although they were very copious in their Numbers, and more than enough for the Heathens.*

About Fifty years after this again in the Reign of *Dioclesian*, Christianity was become the General Religion of the Empire, (†) when the Christians

(†) *Πῶς δὲ ἂν τις διαγέγευε τὰς μεινδρας ἐκείνας ἐπισυναγωγὰς, καὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν κατὰ πᾶσιν πόλιν ἀθεοισμάτων, τὰς τε ἐπισήμους ἐν τοῖς περσευκτικείοις συνδεσμάς, ἃν δὲ ἐνέγκαι μισθὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς παλαίοις οἰκοδομήμασιν ἀρχέμενοι εὐρείας ἐισπλάτος ἀνὰ πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἐκθεμελίωσιν ἀγίστων ἐκκλησιῶν.*

Euseb. l. 8. c. 1. & c. 4.

met

met every where in infinite numbers, and built large and spacious Churches in all Cities, and still increased more and more, inso-much that the (||) Temples of the Idols were every where desolate, and the Emperor, being awed by the greatness of their Numbers, durst scarce venture upon a Persecution.

(||) Τὸ Βασιλικὸν
εἰς πέρας ἀγῆν προ-
ταγμα καλέουσιν ὧν
ἀν μετὰ σπέσης πά-
σης τῶν μὲν Ἰδῶλων
ἀνοικοδομοῦσιν τὰ πεπ-
τοκότα. Id. de Mart.
Palæst. c. 9.

This was the State of Christianity before the *Dioclesian* Persecution, to which *Constantine* put an happy End, who, as *Gregory* saith of his Son *Constantius*, Set his Heart upon nothing so much as to see the Christians flourish, and to have all the Advantages of Glory and Power. He reigned alone 30 years, and *Constantius* 24, which make up 54 years, in which time Christianity became the Religion both of the Emperors, and the Empire; the Crois was made the imperial Standard, and Paganism lay every where languishing in the Cities, the Country, and the Camp.

This very consideration made

(†) *Gregory* deride the Design which *Julian* had to extirpate the Christian Religion, as former Emperors had endeavoured to do. The most wise, and best Emperor (saith he ironically) did not consider, that in former Persecutions, the Confusion, and Disorder was but little, because the Christian Religion, was not propagated among the Multitude, being professed but by a few, and not having had the Lustre it now hath: But now, that it is diffused every where, and Reigns so powerfully among

(†) 1 Inveſt. p. 80.

(II) Τὸ πειρᾶσθαι
τὰ χριστιανῶν μετα-
θῆναι καὶ παρακινεῖν,
ἢ δὲν ἕτερον ἢ τῶν
Ρωμαίων παρεσχεύ-
ειν ἀρχὴν, καὶ τὸ κοι-
νῶ παντὶ κινδυνεύειν,
καὶ ὧν ἕδ' ἂν ἐχθροὶ
χρεόν ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν.

us, (||) to attempt to change and
overthrow it, would be to shake,
and hazard the Roman Empire,
and to suffer from our selves a worse
Mischief, than our Enemies can
wish us.

Therefore if the Christians in the former times
of *Severus*, *Decius*, and *Dioclesian*, who yet were
enough to resist the Forces of the *Roman Empire*,
were counted by *Gregory*, but a few, in comparison
to the Christians who stood firm in the time of *Julian*;
and if Christianity had then so diffused and
propagated it self, that it could not be extirpated
without the Subversion of the *Roman Empire*, Let
any man of common Reason, Judge, whether the
Professors of Christianity in *Julians* time, were a
small, and defenceless Number, not able to resist.
This is so far wide of the real Truth, that the same

Gregory tells us, That (†) there
‘were two things more especial-
‘ly, about which *Julian* was
‘most solicitous, the *Galileans*,
‘as he reproachfully called the
‘Christians, and the *Persians*,
‘who stoutly persisted in War;
‘but his Design against the *Ga-
‘lileans* seemed so much the
‘greater Undertaking, and did
‘so much take up his Thoughts,
‘that he counted the War with
‘the *Persians*, but a Trifle, and

(†) Καὶ δὴ ταῦτα
μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ σπυ-
δαζόμενα. Γαλιλαίοι-
τε ὡς αὐτὸς ἐφουβί-
ζων ἐχάλει, καὶ πέρας
τῷ πολέμῳ καρτερῶς
παρεμένοντες, ἔπω δὲ
τὸ ἡμέτερον μείζον,
καὶ πεισπιδάσερον
ὥστε λῆσεν καὶ πιδίαν
αὐτῷ τὸ κατὰ πέρας
ρομίζεσθαι. 1 Invelt.
p. 99. 80.

'a Sport in comparison to that. This was said of *Julian*, after he had done his worst to tempt the Christians to Apostacy by Rewards, Honours, and Preferments, when he made preparations against the *Persians*; and indeed he had reason to look upon the Design of reducing the Christians, as abundantly more difficult, than conquering the *Persians*, having in a few months time met with so many desperate Experiments of Christian Sufferance, Fortitude, and Contempt of Preferments, not only among the Churchmen, and Citizens, but even in the Camp. For when he was made Emperor, the *Roman* Legions were in a manner all Christians, (†) *Constantine* having (†) Theod. l. 3. c. 3. taken special care, to get them instructed in the Christian Religion, and his Sons after him to confirm them in it; in particular *Constantius*, called his whole Army together, before he gave Battel to *Magnentius*, and told them, That the term of Life was uncertain, especially in War, and therefore exhorted them all, to be forthwith Baptized; and moreover told them, That no Unbaptized person should continue in his Service.

This is the Reason why *Julian* (||) feigned himself to be a Christian, till after the death of *Constantius*, fearing lest his own Army should revolt from him, and that of *Constantius* refuse him for their Emperor, being both almost all Christians. But after he was firm in the Throne, he tempted the Souldiers by all Arts, especially by Rewards and Preferments, to quit their Religion, but in this he was not so Successful, as he hoped to be. For when at the Solemn time of giving Donatives, he ordered the

(||) Amm. Mar. l. 2 r.
c. 2. Zonar. Tom. 3.
p. 19. Theodor. l. 3.
c. 3.

the Ceremony after the old Custom, that every one as he came to receive his Donative should Sacrifice to the Gods, (†) 'Some (saith

(†) L. 5.c.17.

'Sozomen) shew'd their courage 'openly, and would neither Sa-
'crifice, nor receive any Gifts of the Emperor, o-
'thers being deceived with the specious pretence of
'old Custome, did not consider what they did; o-
'thers again being baited with the sight of the Gold,
'and surprized with Fear and Confusion at the Sight
'of this New Scene, did not decline to Sacrifice,
'though they knew it was a *Pagan Rite*; and of
'those, who ignorantly did so, some came back a-
'gain to the Emperor, when they knew what they
'had done, and begged him to take back his Gold,
'and put them to death. But

(†) 1 Inveſt.p.75.

before he attempted the Army, he had (†) reformed his own Household, killing, or removing all those, who continued Faithful to Christ; but after he had done all that he could, very near

(||) Ibid.

(||) *half the Army still remained Christians, of whom Greg. speaking by allusion, saith, That there remained above seven thousand, who would not bow their knees to Baal, nor worship the Golden Image, among which there were many both of the (†) greatest Comman-*

(†) Πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ἐν διασείαις, καὶ ὑπερπολλοὶ δὲ τῶν κατωτέρων, καὶ αὐθιμῶς μόνω γνωρίζομένων. Ib.

diers, and of the Common Souldiers too.

From hence it is plain, that when *Julian* had done all that he could, still almost half his Army, Officers and common Souldiers too, were Professed Chri-

Christians, which made St. (||)

Aug. who remembred the times (||) Enarr. in Psalm
of *Julian*, say of him, *Julian* 124.

was an Infidel Emperor, nay, was he not an Apostate, and unjust, and an Idolater? and yet the Christian Souldiers served under this Infidel Emperor. And as for the revolting part of the Army, they were only Counterfeit Revolters, who waited for an Opportunity to declare Christians again, as is plain from the Answer, which they gave to *Jovian*,

(†) who telling them freely upon his Election, That he would not put on the Royal Purple because he was a Christian, nor command such men,

(†) Theodor. l. 4.

c. 1.

Sozom. l. 6. c. 3.

Socrat. l. 3. c. 22.

who were imbued with *Pagan* Principles, they all cryed out, 'We are Christians, and make no doubt, 'O Emperor, to undertake the Conduct of us, for 'you shall be Emperor of Christians, bred up in the 'Holy Faith, the oldest of us under *Constantine*, and 'the rest, under *Constantius*, and the short Reign of 'him, who now lyes dead, was not sufficient to strike 'the Infection deep into the Minds of those that 'were deceived.

This was the State of *Julians* Army, which consisted in a manner wholly of professing Christians, and counterfeit Apostates from Christianity, of whose Dissimulation the professing part could not be ignorant, if they had had a mind to Rebel. But besides the open, and concealed Christians that were in *Julians* Army, there were many Great and Popular Men among the Legions turn'd out of their Employments, as *Jovian*, *Valentinian*, and *Valens*, who might have set up the Holy Standard, which *Julian* had taken down, and soon have got an Army of Chri-

Christians, if *Julians* Christian Souldiers, or Subjects barbarously used as they were, had thought it lawful to Rebel.

The two former especially, had such interest in *Julians* own Army, that they were successively chosen Emperors by it within 8 Months after his death; and considering how spitefully the whole Christian Clergy had been used by *Julian*, the Christians outraged by the Heathens, the Christian Souldiers discontented, so many Christian Cities disfranchised, and such brave and noble Commanders to head the Numberless Sufferers of all sorts, it is most absurd to ascribe their Peaceable and Suffering Behaviour to want of Strength, Numbers, or Opportunity; and difficult to imagine, had they thought Resistance Lawful, but that having all these Advantages, they should at least have attempted to Rebel.

How easie had it been for *Jovian*, *Valentinian*, and *Valens*, and other disbanded Commanders, to have filled all the corners of the Empire with *Declarations*, and *Remonstrances* against *Julian*, and to have addressed themselves to their Fellow Christian Subjects to this purpose:

*To all the Suffering, and Oppressed
Christians of the Roman Empire,
Jovian, Valentinian, and Valens,
&c. Send Greeting.*

WE having taken into Consideration the Sad and deplorable Condition of the Christians throughout the *Roman* Empire under the Reign

‘of this Tyrant, and Apostate, and utter Enemy
 ‘of Christ, do resolve, by Gods Assistance, to rise
 ‘up against him in Defence of our selves, and our
 ‘Holy Religion; and send forth this our Declara-
 ‘tion to all the Provinces of both Empires, to invite
 ‘our Fellow-Souldiers and Subjects to joyn with us,
 ‘and to giye them satisfaction why we have broken all
 ‘the Measures by which the Ancient and Suffering Chri-
 ‘stians have gone in former Persecutions.

The plain Truth of the matter
 is, their Case and ours differs very P. 68, 69, 70, 71,
 much, and we are in quite other &c.

Circumstances, than the former
 Christians were. For when this Apostate came to the
 Crown, he found us in full and quiet possession of our Re-
 ligion, which we and our Fathers had enjoyed for above
 Fifty years, and which is so inestimable a Blessing, that
 we shall plainly undervalue it, if we do not our best to keep
 it. But the former Christians were born to Persecution,
 they neither knew better, nor expected it; they professed
 their Religion, as in some places they propound new
 Laws, with Halts about their Necks; for the Laws of
 the Empire were always in force against them, though not
 always put in Execution; and the Edge of the Ax stood
 always towards them, though it were not at all times
 stained with their Blood. They perpetually lay at the mer-
 cy of their Enemies; their Religion at the best was in
 the World but upon sufferance, as Abraham was in the
 Land of Canaan, where he had none Inheritance, not
 so much as to set his Foot on.

But as his afflicted Posterity were afterwards Lords of
 that Country, so after another Egyptian Bondage, Chri-
 stianity was advanced by Constantine of Blessed Me-
 mory, to be the Religion of the Empire: Never any man
 in this World set his Heart so much upon any thing, as he
 did

did to see the Christians flourish, and to have all the Advantages of Glory and Power; and we hope that all men, who value the Establishment of their Religion, at this rate will not easily part with it. We hope they will not let Julian, who by his Baptism first, and by entering into Orders after, and by his going to Church after that, sufficiently engaged himself to maintain Christianity, dispossess them of their Freehold: No, it is an unsupportable Injury. Consider, we beseech you, is there no difference between being turn'd out as Sheep among Wolves, which was the Deplorable, but unavoidable case of the first Christians, and being worried by one of their own Flock? Hath a man no more Right, nor Priviledge, after he is Naturalized, than when he was a Stranger, or Alien, or accounted an Enemy? Do not the same Laws, which forbid men to invade other mens Rights, enable them to maintain, and defend their own? These are the plain and palpable differences between the State of the former Christians, and us; They suffered according to the Laws of their Country, whereas we are persecuted contrary to Law: And the Gospel only requires Passive Obedience from Christians when the Laws are against them, and when the Laws of the Land make it death to profess Christianity, then, and then only we are to lay down our Lives for Christs sake.

Therefore we cannot but much wonder at such men, who trouble the World with the unseasonable Prescription of Prayers and Tears, and the Passive Obedience of the Thebæan Legion in the last Persecution, which were proper only at such times, when the Laws of the Empire were armed against our Religion. But what have we to do with the Thebæan Legion now? Blessed be God, who hath made the difference between us, and the former Christians: Poor men, they died as Glorious Martyrs in respect of their Religion, yet they died as Criminals and Malefactors in the Eye of the Law. But we shall plain-ly

ty throw away our Lives, if we practise any such Passive Obedience, who have the Laws on our side: Nay, we justly deserve to be so used as the Thebæan Legion was, and moreover, to be loaded with the Curses of all Posterity, if we suffer our selves to be brought into that Condition. Away then with the old Artillery of Prayers and Tears, and the unseasonable Doctrine of Passive Obedience, which makes the World for the Cut-Throats of Julian, and our Throats the Perquisites of their Places: It is not now essential to the Gospel to be a Suffering Religion, that is an Evil which only attends it in bad times, when the Laws are against it, as in the Neronian, Decian, and Dioclesian Persecutions, when the Christians quietly submitted to the Laws; but all this is nothing to us, who may pursue Julian like a Midnight Thief, or Highway Robber.

‘ Consider what he hath done, and what he hath suffered to be done, not only without, but against Law. Remember what hath been done at *Ascalon* and *Gaza*; remember *Georgius* of *Alexandria*, and *Marcus* of (||) *Arethusa*; remember *Theodorus* at *Antioch*, and (||) 1 Inveſt. p. 91. upon what Shams he put our Fellow-Souldiers *Artemius*, *Juveninus*, and *Maximus* to death. Remember his Mockery, and Reproaches, and Blasphemies against Christ; all these things call upon us to defend our selves and our Religion against him: And upon the forementioned Considerations have we taken Arms, and are ready like *Moses*, *Othniel*, and *Gideon*, to be Captains over those that will joyn with us; and we hope that God, for whom we fight, will give Success to our Arms.

But instead of Remonstrating at this rate upon the Principles of our Author, or making the least attempt to resist, they, and the rest of the disbanded

ed Officers and Souldiers, together with all the Christians of the Empire, followed the Example of the former Christians, in patiently suffering, as Martyrs, and Confessors for Jesus Christ. There never was greater Examples of Passive Obedience, than in the short Reign of *Julian*, whose Christian Subjects, and Souldiers, tho far more numerous, than in any Age before them, not only patiently endured many grievous Miseries, but, what was the most provoking and grievous of all Miseries, they daily heard and saw themselves, their Religion, and their Blessed Saviour most blasphemously scorned and reviled. Though he was an Apostate that was their Persecutor, and *had their Religion like a Treasure wrested out of their hands; by one that had been bred in the Bosom of the Church*; yet all the Armour they used against him, were the old Primitive Arms of Prayers and Tears.

This was so evident to our Author, especially out of *Gregories* Invectives, that contrary to his own knowledge, he would rather put it upon the Score of their *Defenseless Condition*, like the Writers among the Jesuits, than let it pass for the genuine Effect of their Christian Faith, and Patience, as it really was. Here (saith (||) *Gregory*) my Oration exults for

(||) 1 Invect. p. 52. joy, and calls all Christians
unto this Spiritual Dance, both those who have addicted themselves to Fasting, Weeping, and Prayers, begging day, and night for a Redress of our present grievous Calamities, and a seasonable Remedy to our Evils, being strengthened with Hope, which maketh not ashamed: And those, who having endured great Conflicts, and Sufferings, and been wounded with many and grievous

Out-

‘Outrages of these Times, were made a Spectacle,
 ‘as the Apostle saith, to the World, to Angels,
 ‘and to Men; and who being broken, and made
 ‘Cripples in their Bodies, kept their Souls upright,
 ‘and invincible, being able to endure all things
 ‘through Christ that strengthened them: *As also*
 ‘those, who quitting all worldly greatness, and oc-
 ‘casion of Sin, and receiving the loss of their
 ‘goods with Joy, or being banished injuriously from
 ‘their Country, or separated for a short time from
 ‘their Husbands, or Wives, or Parents, or Chil-
 ‘dren, or other dear Relations, bring forth the
 ‘Fruit of sufferings for Christ by vertue of the Blood
 ‘of Christ, and may firly say, or sing that of the
 ‘Psalmist, *Thou hast caused men to ride over our Heads,*
 ‘*we went through Fire, and through Water, but thou*
 ‘*hast brought us into a Wealthy Place.*

If Mr. J. search all the Ecclesiastical Records,
 he will scarce find any one Passage, which more
 emphatically sets forth the *Prayers, and Tears, and*
Sufferings of the former Christians, than this doth
 those of the Christian Subjects of *Julian*, though
 they were so strong, and numerous, and he the
 worst of Tyrants, who persecuted contrary to Law.
 Nay, it was the Maxim of the Christians then, as
 well as in former Ages, that Tears (which imply
 Prayers) were the only remedy against persecuting
 Princes; for (saith (†) *Gregory*)
 this thundring *Gregory*, speaking how *Julian* designed worse
 Evils against the Christians, than ever *Dioclesian*,
 or *Maximian* thought of, *But he was restrained by*
the Mercy of God, and the Tears of the Christians,
which many of them shed in great abundance, having

(†) 1 Inveſt. p. 91.

(ll) Ib. p. 73.

this only Remedy against the Persecutor. And in (ll) another place, speaking of the Satisfaction,

which the Christians then had in their private Sufferings, when Julian envied them the Glory of a Formal Martyrdom, *It is more pleasant (saith he) to the Christians to suffer for their Religion, though no man should know of it, than it was for Aristæus, Empedocles, Trophonius, and such wretched Pagans, to acquire Glory by Impiety, because we are not concerned to please men, but all our desire is to be approved, and honoured of God.*

(†) p. 123, 124.

Nay, doth he not shew at large in his 2d. (†) Invektive, how the Christians betook themselves to Prayer against Julian, their

Hope in God being their only Weapons, and Wall, and every other Defence, as being deprived and cut off from all Humane Assistance; not for want of Strength and Numbers, [for as I have shewed, almost all the People, and half of the Army were profess'd Christians] but by the Principles of their Suffering Religion, which allowed Subjects no other Remedy against Persecuting Sovereigns, but *Patience, Prayers, and Tears.* Had they thought Resistance Lawful, it had been very easie for the profess'd Christian part of the Army, especially with the Assistance of the conceal'd Christians, to have delivered the Church from the Execrable Tyrant; but instead of

that, they only put up Prayers against him, which (l) Gregory told him, would stop his Blasphemous Mouth, although he might

(ll) 1 Invekt. 78. Ὁν
τὸ δάκρυον, ὃν ἔκτασις
χειρῶν φλόγα σφεν-
νισι. θήσας κοιμῶζει,
αμβλύται ἔξιν κλί-
νει παλαγγας, ἐπισομῶσι
καὶ τὴν σὴν ἀσέβειαν, ἐν ἴδι καὶ περὶ
ὀλίγον ἀρβῆς, καὶ πειζῆς τὸ τῆς ἀσεβείας δέμα μετὰ τῶν σὴν δακ-
ρύων.

frut

first it for a while, and be suffered with his Devils to act the Tragedy of his Impieties ;

Instead of that, as St. (†) *Augustin* observed, They marched at his Command against the Enemy, being Subject to their Temporal, for the sake of their Eternal Lord.

They were not ignorant of his Spite and Malice against Christ, and the Christians, they knew all the Evil he had done, and all that he intended to do against them, and yet they were as Faithful and Obedient to him, as ever they had been to their old Masters *Constantine*, and *Constantius*, although he was the first Apostate Tyrant, and, as our Author will have it, persecuted contrary to Law. (||) Mr. J.

hath done all he could to put a Slur upon this eminent Instance of Christian Subjection, and Obedience unto *Julian*: As for these Souldiers (saith he) fighting under *Julian* against the *Persians*, or other common Enemies of the Empire, — and obeying the Word of Command, when they received his pay, it is such a low part of honesty, that any man may pretend unto it ; if I had been there a Souldier of Fortune, I should have done the same. But their fighting under *Julian* against the *Persians*, and obeying the Word of Command, is not all for which they were cited by (||) Dr. H. but that they did not resist the Tyrant, when they were in such a Posture of Resistance, that they did not so much as

(†) Loc. supra Cit. — Quando autem dicebat, producite aciem, ite contra illam gentem, statim obtemperabant, distinguebant dominum aeternum a domino temporali, & tamen subditi erant propter dominum aeternum etiam domino temporali. Et vero quam obsequiosos sese *Juliano* Christiani milites prae-buerint, elegantissimo *Augustini* testimonio docemur. Jacob. Goto-fred. in Oratione 2. *Julianus* nuncupatâ.

(||) Preface p. 26.

(||) Sermon p. 15.

draw their Swords against him, under the Specious Pretence of defending their Religion, and preventing the extirpation of it: And now their Example becomes yet more exemplary upon Mr. J's Assertion, for which the Dr. is bound to thank him, That *Julian persecuted contrary to Law.* It seems neither the Defence of their Laws, nor Religion, nor Fellow-Christians, nor the preventing the Effusion of Innocent Blood, could make them resist the worst of Tyrants: And I appeal to all that have read his Book, whether it is probable, that he, *would have done the same,* he that hath burlesqued the Doctrine

(†) P. 88.

of the Cross, *He that hath said that (†) Passive Obedience is a Doctrine fit to turn a Nation into a Shambles, and enough to invire Tyranny and Cruelty into the World.* Lastly, he that hath (||) said

(||) P. 87.

in his own name, and the name of some Potential Legions, *Through the Grace of God, though we cannot hinder the Papists from being Idolaters, we will endeavour to keep them from being Murderers, they shall not have that to Answer for too.* Doth this sound like a man that would have been an Obedient Souldier to *Julian*? It is more reasonable to believe he would have been the Souldier that *struck the Favelin* into his Side.

Perhaps Mr. J. may think, that I am very fond of the Army of *Julian*; If I am, he hath made me so, by so undervaluing their Exemplary Patience, and Subjection under the Tyrant, and shamming of it off, as he hath done. And if the Behaviour of *Juveninus* and *Maximus*, and of the Souldiers, who ignorantly sacrificed, may be a sufficient ground for conjecture, I must further tell him, we may

well

well presume, that the Christian Legions of Julian rather than resist, would have died Martyrs, like the *Theban* Legion, with their Swords by their Sides. Besides what I have said of the latter in the 3d. Chap. I must here tell him again out of (†) *Theodo-* (†) Lib. 3. c. 17.
ret, That after they had brought back their Gold to Julian, and desired him to purge them by Fire, he was so enraged at them, that he commanded them to be beheaded; and as they were led out of the City to the place of Execution, a great multitude followed them, admiring their Courage and Boldness in suffering for their Religion. When they were come to the place of Execution, the Senior of them desired the Hangman to behead the Youngest first, lest he seeing the Execution of the others, should be frightened by it. But as he laid down his Head, and the Hangman had drawn his Sword, one came with a Pardon, and forbid the Execution, (for Julian envied them the Glory of Martyrdom) but the young Souldier being sorry, that he was saved, said, *I see Romanus is not worthy to be a Martyr of Jesus Christ.* What Fools were these to (||) throw away their Lives, certainly they were weary of them (||) P. 75.
 to practise such Passive Obedience, and with such Gallantry too, when the Laws were not against them? Had they not better have gone to their Fellow-Souldiers, and conjured them by the Great Name of *Constantine*, and *Constantius*, to rise up against that enormous Tyrant, and Apostate, who had broken all the Laws, laid aside the Holy Standard, polluted all things and places with Idolatrous Nidors and Sprinklings, and hated, and blasphemed the Name of Christ. I am confident, were our Author, or his Admirers, to answer for them,

them, they would say, they should have done so, *Because their case, was quite different from the former Christians, whose Religion at best was but upon Sufferance, but theirs was become the Established Religion of the Empire.* But poor men as they were, they had learnt no such Distinctions, they practised the Doctrine of the Cross, like other Doctrines of the Gospel, in Gospel-Simplicity, and were content to dye as Martyrs for their Religion, when they were not Criminals in the Eye of the Law. Nay, there

(||) Naz. 1 Inveſt. p. 74. Socr. l. 3. c. 12. Sozom. l. 5. c. 4. 15, 17, 20. Theod. l. 3. c. 11, 17. 1 Inveſt. p. 72, 82, 86. Chryſoſt. hom. in Juvent. & Max.

cian and Diocleſian them better ; but they were very angry at him, that

(†) *Vid.* Jac. Gotofredi Julianum p. 58, 59.

(||) Καὶ ἦν λίαν ἀ-
πάνθρωπον αὐτῷ τὸ
φιλόανθρωπον. Inveſt.
1. p. 74.

exercised enough. yet they would have had him exercise an hundred times more. They hated him for stealing Persecutions upon them, and for envying them the Glory, and the Church the Benefit of Martyrdom ; and he knew the Temper of his Christian Subjects so well, that (as it is cited before) he said, *they would fly to Martyrdom, like Bees unto an Hive.*

He

He knew they would rather dye, than resist him; he knew that Passive Obedience was their Principle, and this made him so secure of them, and so bold to abuse them, their Religion, and their Saviour, although they were so Numerous,

That (†) the Magistrates in every City, were scarce able to take the Numbers of those that refused to Sacrifice. I reserved this Authority till now, to shew there was no general defection among them, and to answer that Passage of Asterius, which our unanswerable Author hath cited out of his Sermon against Covetousness: *Quantus ab Ecclesiâ ad Altaria factus est concursus? quam multi per honorum escas & illecebras una cum ipso [Juliano] Apostasia hanc de-*

(†) Sozom. l. 5. c. 15. Σχολή γὰρ ἂν τοσούτων καὶ ἐκείνη πάλιν οἱ ἀρχόντες τὸν ἀριθμὸν μόνον ἀπυγέζαντο. See also Sozom. l. 3. c. 20. — ἐπιδὴ ὀλίγες τὸς τοιάτας ἐρευνεῖταιν —

vorârunt: This the Father spoke not as an Historian, but as a Preacher, lamenting the Fall of those few, who were tempted by Preferments and Money, to deny Christ. I say of those few, who yet were too many, though they had no proportion to the Numberless Numbers of those, who stood firm. This is plain from the very next words of the good Father, *Qui nunc quidam stigmati civitatis oberrant, omnibus odio, ac ludibrio habiti, tanquam Christi domini propter paucillum argentum proditores, expuncti Christianorum albo sicut Judas Apostolorum, Apostatarum appellatione noti.* It seems they were comparatively but a few, when they were known like Stigmatized Persons in all Cities; but it is not unusual for our Author to omit, or conceal such Passages in Authors, as best serve to let the World see, how much he wrests them from their Genuine Sense. This I shew'd before out of Eusebius, E-

menius, &c. And I desire him to consider, what a worthy Prelate said of that, which he saith is my Lord (||) *Hollis* his Book,

(†) P. 51, 91.

That if he might use the Scriptures, as that Author hath used the Records, he could prove *there was no God*, for leave out *The Fool hath said in his Heart*, and then it follows, *there is no God*.

And now let the Impartial Reader Judge, what Reason so many men had to cry up *Julian* for an unanswerable Book, besides their Inclinations to have it so? Or why that Noble Lord should carry it in his Pocket for a Jewel, and swear by his Creator, That he would give the Author of it, the best Parsonage in his Gift? It was sworn like the Son of such a Loyal Father; and if indeed his Lordships best Parsonage must be the Reward of his Pains, much Good do^t him, it is better worth than Thirty Pieces of Silver; but I am confident none of those, *who have thundered so much of late with the Thebæan Legion*, would have been the Authors of *Julian*, for his Lordships whole Estate.

But see the Difference of men; Mr. J. notwithstanding is very fond of it, it is his First-born, his Might, and his Strength, and so very like him, that he hath Reason to Dote upon it, and may be excused for taking of it ill from his Bookseller, that he did not put his Name unto it. By the Bookseller I do not mean *Langley Curtis* on *Ludgate-Hill*, who is the Honestest Man of the two, but him, That kept the Books in his Back-Shop, and of whom (I presume) Mr. J. learnt (for he was best able to tell) That my Lord *Hollis* was the Author of *the Letter of a Gentleman to his Friend*, shewing, *That the Bishops are not to be Judges in Parlia-*

ment

ment in Capital Cases. This Book was privately Printed by the same Man in 1679, just against the Parliament was to Meet, but it pleased God they were Dissolved; and by that time another sat down, the Writers *Candour*, and *Veracity* were effectually discovered by the most Learned, and Worthy Author of the *Grand Question*, who hath been a Blessing to the Age, and Obliged it by his many Learned Works,

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Shewing, That the Former Christians before the time of Julian suffered as much, or more than Julians Subjects did, not only without, but Contrary to Law.

HAVING shew'd at large, how the Subjects of *Julian*, and more especially his Souldiers, suffered with most Exemplary Patience, when they were in a very probable Capacity to resist, I proceed to shew, That there was no such Difference betwixt the Sufferings of the Former Christians, and them, as our Author pretends there was, p. 71. where he positively tells his Reader, *That the First Christians suffered according to the Laws of their Country, whereas those under Julian were persecuted Contrary to Law.*

It will very much enervate the Strength of his Book to discover the Falseness of his Assertion, and therefore upon his own Supposition, That *the Christian Subjects of Julian were oppressed in a very Illegal way*, I shall make it appear, that the Former Christians were oppressed in the same manner, not only without, but against Law. First then, Did Julian put the Christians to death upon Shams, and pretended Crimes of Treason, &c. as our Author speaks? So did the

the Former Persecutors too, as

(†) *Gotofred* observes in his *Julianus*. (||) *Nero*, the first Persecutor of the Church, laid the Burning of *Rome* (of which he himself was the Author) to the Charge of the Christians, and punished them with most exquisite Torments, upon that Account. (†) The grievous Crimes of *Incest*, and *Murder*, and of being publick Enemies of the Empire, were laid to the charge of the whole (*) *Seēt*; and they were ordinarily put to death as certainly guilty of them, without any further Process at Law. This *Tertullian* complains of in his time, when they were so Numerous, as is shew'd in the last Chapter, and in a Condition very able to resist; and afterwards in the *Dioclesian* Persecution when they were yet more Numerous. (||) *Maximinus Cæ-*

sar privately fired the Emperors Palace in *Nicomedia*, and accused the Christians of the Household for doing of it, which so enraged the Emperor, that he caused them all to be put to death. From hence it is plain, that *Julian*, though he was a Fox, yet he was not the First who found out the way of putting the Christians to death upon Shams; he was not the first, that dressed up Accusations of Treason and Sacrilege against them; and therefore, as they did not, so they had no reason, to break the Measures

(†) *Agmen nunc blaudat fictum, utq; omnium accusationum complementum, seditionis, tumultus, rebellionis, majestatisq; crimen, unicum & aliis sæpe crimen eorum, qui crimina vacant. Fuit hæc scilicet, ut anteriorum principum & persecutorum ita Juliani potissimum, Christianos eorumq; antistites in hæc crimina convenire.* —

(||) *Tacit. Annal. l. 15. c. 44. Qui sectam mentiuntur ad Scap. 4.*

(†) *Euseb. l. 4. c. 7. Minut. Felix. Tertull. Apol. 2. & 9.*

(*) *Divina Seēt.*
Tertul. Ap. 37.

(||) *Lactant de Mort. persecut. c. 14.*

Nero.

pars,

Measures of Passive Obedience, by which the more Ancient, and Suffering Christians had gone in former times.

2. But 2dly, Did the Heathens outrage the Christians in *Julians* Reign, and did he underhand direct and encourage them to act such Tragedies upon them? So they did in former Ages, not only using great Cruelties unto the Living Christians, by Stoning and Burning of them, but also by digging up their Dead Bodies, and Tearing, and Mangling

of them in Pieces, against the most (||) Sacred Laws of the Roman Empire, when, as (t) *Tertullian* saith, they could have easily revenged themselves, if they would. It was utter Impunity, and the Connivence of the Governours, that made the Heathens in this Barbarous and Insolent manner insult it over the former Christians, against the Laws of the Empire; and therefore the same sort of Illegal Violence and Oppression, could be no special reason to the Christians under *Julian*, to alter their Behaviour, or break the Gospel-Measures of Christian Patience, in which their Predecessors had possessed their Souls. No, they followed their Example, as they followed Christ; and practised this Slavish Do-

(||) Inst. 1. 2. Tit. 1. De rerum divisione 9.

(t) Apol. 37. *Quoties etiam, præteritis vobis, suo jure nos inimicum vulgus invadit lapidibus & incendiis? Ipsis Bacchanalium furis, nec mortuis parcunt Christianis, quin illos de requie sepulturae, de Asylo quodam mortis, jam alios, jam nec totos avellant, dissecant, distrabant. Quid tamen unquam denotatus de tam conspiratis, de tam animatis ad mortem usq; pro injuriâ repensatum, quando vel una nocte paucis faculis largitur ultionis posset operari, si malum malo dispungi penes nos liceret.*

ctrine of Passive Obedience, even then, when they saw the Execrable Heathens rip up their Fellow-

Christians,

Christians, and tast their Livers, and stuff their Bodies with Barley, and throw them to be devoured by Swine, or anoint them over with Oil and Honey, to expose them to Bees, Wasps, and Hornets; nay Sacrifice them upon their Altars, unto the Devils, whom they worshipped for Gods.

But in the 3d. place, Did Julian, as our Author 3. saith, persecute the Christians contrary to Law?

So did Former Emperors, and Governours much more; for as *Tertullian* observes, If Christianity was a Crime, they were tortured not like other Malefactors, to confess, but to deny it, contrary to the End, for which Torture, not only in the Roman

Torture

Empire, but in all other Governments, was used. The common Reason why Torture was instituted was, to force Stubborn Malefactors to confess the Crimes for which they were suspected, and accused;

but clean contrary to this end they tortured (†) Christians to make them deny: And could there be any thing more absurd or illegal, than to Rack those Criminals, who had already confessed the Charge, and acquit those, who denied it? They accounted the Christians the worst of Malefactors, publick Enemies of the Gods, and the Emperor; and yet when they had confessed the Crime, they would torture them, to retract their Confessions, and then set them Free.

(†) *Christianum hominum omnium scelerum reum deorum, Imperatorum, legum, morum, nature totius inimicum existimas, & cogis, negare ut absolvas, quem non poteris absolvere nisi negaverit. Prævaricaris in leges — torquimur confitentes, & absolvimur negantes. Hoc sum, quod quaris an sim? quid me torques? confiteor, & torques, quid faceres, si negarem.*

The Reason of these Partial, Absurd, and Unjust Proceedings against them, was, as the same Father

(†) *Non scelus ali-
quod in causa est, sed
nomen.*

Father observes, That they were punished for the (†) Name of *Christian*, and therefore the Confessing, or Denying of themselves to be Christians, made

them Guilty or Innocent of Murder, and many other presumptive Crimes. But if they persevered in their Confession, then in the second place, they were condemned forthwith as *Murderers*, &c. against one of the Laws of the 12 Tables, and one of the Fundamental Laws not only of the Empire, but of all Civil Governments,

(||) *Si certum est nos
nocentissimos esse, cur à
vobis ipsis aliter tracta-*

(||) *without being heard.*

mur, quam patres nostri, id est, ceteri nocentes, cum ejusdem no-
ietatis eadem tractatio debet intervenire. Quodcumq; decimus,
cum alii dicuntur, & proprio ore, & mercenariâ advocacy ad
innocentiæ suæ commendationem, respondendi, altercandi facultas
patet, quando nec liceat inoffensos, & inauditos damnari, sed
Christianis solis nihil permittitur loqui, quod causam purget, quod
veritatem defendat, quod judicem non faciat injustum.

— In omnibus nos aliter disponitis, quam ceteros nocentes.

All other Malefactors had the liberty of defending their Lives, and the benefit of Counsel, but the Christians only were denied the privilege of their Birthright, being condemned in a most Arbitrary and Tyrannical manner to death

(†) *Præsumptis non
probatu criminibus de
suâ solâ confessione dam-*
natur — cum præju-
matu de secleribus no-
stris ex nominis con-
fessione.

for (†) Presumed Crimes, of which there was made no Proof. This made the Father, who himself was bred a Lawyer, ex- postulate with the Governours of the Empire, about the Illegality of their Proceedings, and

tell them, That if it was the same thing to be guilt-

ty of Murder, and Incest, and to be a publick Enemy of the Empire, as to be a Christian, then they should (||) Indict every Christian of Murder, and Incest by his proper Name, and prove the Indictment against him, and not presume that the Title of a Christian implies all those Crimes. I say he expostulates with them very warmly about the (†) Illegality of their Proceedings against the Christians, and I have put his Expressions in the Margent, on purpose that our Author and his Admirers may consider them, and thereby be convinced, that the Primitive Christians did practise the Slavish Doctrine of Passive Obedience in that Sense, wherein, (||) he saith, *It is not Evangelical, but Mahumetan, and the very Turkish Doctrine of the Bow-string, as it is taught, and prescribed both without, and against Law.*

(||) *Quid de tabellâ recitatis illum Christi-
anum cur non & ho-
micidam?* —

(†) *Suspecta sit vo-
bis ista perversitas, ne
qua vis lateat in ocul-
to, quæ vos adversus
formam, adversus na-
turam Judicandi, con-
tra ipsas quoque leges
ministret. Nisi enim
fallor, leges malos erui
jubeat, non abscondi,
confessos damnari præ-
scribunt non absolvi,
hoc senatus consulta,
hoc principum manda-
ta definiunt. Hoc Im-
perium cujus ministri
estis civilis non tyran-
nica dominatio est.*

(||) Preface p. 8.

For the *Bow-String* in *Turkey* is not more Unjust, Tyrannical, and Destructive, than this way of proceeding against the Christians was, which the Apologist tells the Judges, was against the Constitution of the Empire, the Acts of the Senate, and the Mandates of the Emperors; and this plainly implies, That *Severus*, who then was Emperor, had made no such Orders for their proceeding against the Christians: For if they had proceeded so against

against them in Obedience to his Pleasure, there had been no ground for such a particular, and smart Charge upon them, nor indeed for writing his Apology to any but the Emperor himself, to shew him the Injustice of such Laws.

But the Father wrote his Apology to the Governours, and Judges of the *Roman Empire*, to whose care the Emperor had left the Civil Administration, being wholly taken up himself in Wars; and besides, he was

(II) Ad Scapulam. 4.
Ipse etiam Severus christianorum memor fuit, nam & proculum Christianum, qui eum per oleum aliquando curaverat, requisivit, & in palatio suo habuit, usq; ad mortem ejus.— & clarissimas scæminas, & clarissimos viros sciens hujus sectæ esse, non modo non læsit, verum et testimonio exornavit, & populo furenti in nos palam restitit.

a great (II) Favourer of the Christians, as the same Author tells us; and therefore the Persecution under him, as it seems to me, ought rather to be ascribed to his Governours, or perhaps to *Plantianus*, his great Favourite, who was an Enemy to the Christians, and had the ascendent so much over him, that he durst accuse the Empress before him; and as (†) *Dio* observes, was more Emperor than He.

(†) Xiph. lib. 21 p. 413, 414.

But what the Christians suffered now contrary to Law, was but a Flea-biting, as it were, to what *Galerius Maximianus* was done against them in the Reign of *Galerius Maximianus*, who Tyrannized contrary to Law. For though, as I have shewed in the Second Chapter, the Emperor had absolute Power over his Subjects Lives, and Estates, as to do what he pleased to particular Persons, or Parties of Men, yet he had no Right to Enslave the whole People, by alter-

ing

ing the Constitution of the *Roman* Government, from a (||) Civil into a Tyrannical Dominion, or from a Government, wherein the People had Liberty,

and Property, into such a Government as the *Persian* was, and the *Turkish* now is, where the Subjects are the Princes Family, and all that they have is his by Law. In this sort of Government all the Subjects, or the whole People, are formal Slaves by Law; and it differs almost as much from an absolute Civil Monarchy, as an absolute Civil Monarchy doth from a limited Civil Monarchy, because the Subjects in such a Government, are born their Princes Slaves, and not to Liberty and Freehold, as in Civil Governments they are; where though the Prince be absolute, and have Power over the Lives, and Fortunes of his Subjects, yet his personal Orders by which he touches this, or that, or

these or those men, are not (+) drawn into precedent, nor affect his other Subjects, not (||) going further than the person, or persons, about whom they

are made. The Exercise of this Power, which Absolute Princes have in Civil Monarchies is not counted Ordinary, but Extraordinary, nor so much Legal, as Supra legal; but in *Tyrannical* Governments, where the Subjects are the Princes Personal Estate, this Despotick Power is the Ordinary Law, and the Subjects are Perfect, and Actual Slaves.

(||) *Hoc Imperium, cuius ministri estis, civilis non tyrannica dominatio est.* Tert. loc. cit.

(+) *Quæ nec ad exemplum trahuntur.* Inst. l. i. Tit. 2.

(||) *Personam non transgreditur.* Ib.

Galerius.

(II) De Mort. Persecut. 21. *Adeprus igitur maximam potestatem ad vexandum orbem animum intendit. Nam post devictas Persas, quorum hic ritus, hic mos est, ut regibus suis in servitium se addicant, & reges populo suo, tanquam familiâ utantur, hunc morem nefarius homo in Romanam terram voluit inducere, quem ex illo tempore victoriae sine pudore laudabat. Et quia id apertè jubere non poterat, sic agebat, ut & ipse libertatem hominibus auferret. Vid. & Euseb. l. 8. c. 14.*

(†) *Matres-familias ingentes, ac nobiles in Gynaecium rapiabantur. Ibid.*

‘Killing a Man. The Islands, Prisons, and the Quarries he esteemed but light Punishments; nay Beheading it self was accounted a Favour; and *Burning, Crucifying, and being devoured by Wild Beasts*, were the easiest deaths, which he did inflict. As for his Domesticks, the *Lance*, was their ordinary Reprimand:

(II) *Eloquentia extincta, caufidici sublati, Juris Consulti, aut relegati, aut necati. Literæ autem inter malas artes habitæ, & qui eas noverant pro inimicis, hostibusq; protriti, & execrati. Licentia rerum omnium, solutis legibus, assumpta & judicibus data. Judices Militares humanitatis literarum rudes, sine adfessoribus, in provincias immissi. Ib.*

Now *Galerius*, as (II) *Lactantius* tells us, after he had conquered the *Persians*, attempted to introduce the Slavish *Persian* Government (which he used to commend) into the *Roman* Empire, & because he had not Power to Enact such an Alteration, yet he treated his Subjects in the *Persian* manner, as if they had been born his Slaves. ‘He tortured, and crucified the most ‘Honourable and Gallant Men ‘every where like Malefactors ‘and Slaves; he ravished the ‘most (†) Noble Matrons, and ‘took them from their own ‘Husbands to put them in his ‘Serglio: His Ordinary Recreations were, to see Men devoured ‘by huge Bears, which he kept ‘for the purpose, and to laugh ‘at the tearing of their Limbs; ‘and he never Supped without

Laws,

'Laws, forbid all Pleading, banished, or killed the
'Lawyers, and instead of Learned Men, made his
'rude Souldiers, who were utterly ignorant of
'Law, and Learning, sole Judges over the Pro-
'vinces, and gave them Power to do what they
'pleased.

To conclude, (||) He made
all Mens Estates be surveyed, (||) Ibid. c. 23.
and the Number of their Cattel,
Vines, and Timber-trees be taken, and had all Ci-
ties, Villages, and Families numbred by the Pole;
nay for fear any man should conceal any thing he
had, he most illegally ordred Servants to be tortu-
red against their Masters, and Wives against their
Husbands, and if no discovery came that way, he
ordred all sorts of men to be tortured in person
to discover the utmost Penny they were worth. And
lest any man under the pretence of being a Beggar
should escape Tax-free, against all the Laws of the
Empire, and of Humanity, he caused all the Beg-
gars every where to be seized, and to be put aboard
on little Vessels, and sunk into the Sea. In short,
he filled the Provinces with Lamentation, and
Mourning, and used his Subjects, as if they had been
his Captives in War; and had the *Sultan of Persia*
conquered the Empire, he could not have used
them worse.

If ever Government was changed from Civil
into Tyrannical, if ever Free People were ensla-
ved, Laws, and Lawyers suppressed, and Lust and
the Sword tyrannized against Law, it was in the
Eastern Empire under the Reign of *Galerius*, but *Galerius*.
O 2 yet

(†) Πλείους παρῶν
τῶν ἐν στρατείαις ὄντων
ἀσμενέστατον τὸν Ἰδιω-
τικὸν προασπαζομένους
βίον, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἕξαρ-
νοι γένοιτο τῆς περὶ
τὸν πῶν ὅλων Δημίερ-
ρον Εὐσεβείας. —
Πλείους ὅσοι τῆς Χρι-
στῆς Βασιλείας στρατιώ-
ται τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ-
μολογίας μὴ μελή-
σαντες, τῆς δοκῆσης
Δόξης, καὶ εὐπρεχίας,
ἧς εἶχον, ἀναμφιλό-
ως προτίμωσαν. Eu-
feb. l. 8. c. 4.

(||) Ib. c. 6.

(†) Ib. c. 10.

(||) Hist. Sacr. l. 2.
c. 47.

yet the Christians [among whom were (†) very many dis-
banded Officers, and Souldiers] though so highly provoked a-
bove the rest of his Subjects, were so far from resisting, that,
according to the Writers, who describe the Tenth Persecution,
they let themselves be led, like Lambs to the Slaughter, and re-
joyced that they were counted worthy to suffer for the Name
of Christ. (||) Euseb saith, That both Men and Women leapt into
the Fire, with a Divine Alacrity, which cannot be expressed,
and that no (†) Eloquence was able to set forth their Courage, and For-
titude in their Torments: And (||) Sulp. Severus tells us, That
the Christians were the more desirous of Martyrdom, than
the Ambitious Clergy-men were of Bishopricks in his
Time. And truly so it did appear by the Thebaan
Legion, with which some men of late have so much dis-
turbed the Christian Spirit of Mr. J. And, poor
Man, I am afraid this account of the Galerian, which
was one of the most Bloody Acts of the Dioclesian
Persecution, may yet disturb him more. For then
the Christians were persecuted at a time, when they
could not want the Help, nor likely the Sollicitati-
ons of their oppressed Heathen Fellow-Subjects,
then if ever they might have taken up Arms under
the Fine Pretence of defending their Liberties and
the Laws, but there was not one word of that a-
mong them: No, poor Wretches, they were mana-
cled

pled and fettered with the Slavish Principle of Passive Obedience, which Christ and his Apostles, had taught them: The Christian prevailed above the Greek Principles in their Consciences: And the Tyrant knew, he was secure in their Numbers, even from his Greek Subjects, among whom it was not only an allowed Principle to kill a Tyrant, but also counted a Meritorious Work. Had the Greeks been then the Prevailing Number, the Monster, had likely been served like Nero; but the Empire was become Christian, and Passive, and his Security consisted in that.

Wherefore, to conclude this Chapter, seeing the Former Christians, especially those under *Galerius*, were Persecuted, Oppressed, and Enslaved, not only as Christians, but as Subjects too, contrary to all Law. Illegal Persecution could be no specifick Reason for the Christian Subjects and Souldiers of *Julian* to resist him; No! they were not so Jesuited, and Presbyterianized from the Gospel-Simplicity; as it appears, it was all one to them, as well, as to their Predecessors, whether they were martyred Legally, or Illegally, or whether they were worried by a Natural, or by an Apostate, by an Unbaptized, or Baptized Wolf. When they could not have the Benefit of Law, they could contentedly suffer against it; as yet their only Remedy was that *Mountebank Receipt of Prayers, and Tears*; none of the Fathers, as yet was become an *Antimonarchical Author*, they valued their *Established Religion* very much, but they would not Fight for it; they knew no *Medium* between *Flying*, or *Suffering*, nor as yet had

had invented any Distinctions to justifie the resisting of Lawful Princes, but followed the Passive Examples of Former Times, without making any Difference betwixt dying for their Religion *with, or without, according to, or contrary to Law.*

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Wherein is defended the Doctrine of Passive Obedience against Law.

HAVING premised so much about the Sufferings of the Ancient Christians both under *Julian*, and other Tyrants before him, It is time to proceed to the Justification of the Doctrine of Passive Obedience in its full Latitude against the Exceptions of our Author, who distinguishes (and in a very triumphant manner) betwixt *Suffering according to, and contrary to Law*, and then upon the ground of this Unanswerable Distinction (Dictator-like) he condemns the Doctrine of Passive Obedience for Intollerable, as it hath been taught, and practised *contrary to Law*. (†) *There* (saith

he, meaning in *Dr. Hickes Sermon*) *it was I met with the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, which, when it is taught without any regard to Laws, and is prescribed without Law, and against Law, is not Evangelical, but Mahometan, and the very Turkish Doctrine of the Bow-String.* And in his Ninth Chapter, wherein he hath endeavoured to confute the Doctrine of Passive Obedience as it is so taught, and practised; all that he hath said, is comprized in *Prop. 3. p. 92.* *When the Laws of God (saith he) and our Country interfere, and it is made death by the Law of the Land to be a Good Christian, then we are to lay down our*

(†) Preface p. 8.

Lives for Christs Sake. This is the only Case wherein the Gospel requires Passive Obedience, namely, when the Laws are against a Man, and this was the case of the first Christians. And in p. 75. saith he, Men throw away their Lives, and are certainly weary of them, if they practise Passive Obedience against the Laws, and the Truth of it is, we justly deserve to be so used as the Thebæan Legion was, and moreover to be loaded with the Curses of all Posterity, if we suffer our selves to be brought into their Condition, for that can never happen, but by our own Treachery to our Religion, in parting with those good Laws, that protect it, and in agreeing to such, as shall destroy it.

I am very well satisfied, that the Case of the Thebæan Legion, or any other like it, can never happen in Great Britain, we of these Kingdoms having such Security against Tyranny, as no People ever had; but upon supposition, that it may happen, I am very well assured, that we ought patiently to suffer it, or any other Condition like unto it, though our sufferings would be against Law.

But to state this matter clearly, and to the satisfaction of the Reader, I must here beg leave to distinguish between the Laws in any Government, which declare, and ascertain the *Rights of the Sovereign*, and those, which secure the *Rights of the Subject*. By the *Rights of the Sovereign*, I understand those Prerogatives, and Pre-Eminences of Power and Greatness, which are involved in the formal Conception of Sovereignty, and are inseparably annexed to the Sovereign, whether it be the People, as in Democracies; or a few of the Chief, as in Aristocracies; or one single Person, as in Monarchies: For there are certain Essential Rights of Sovereignty, or Supremacy, which equally belong to

Sove-

Sovereigns of all Sorts, as to *have Sense* belongs to all Sorts of *Animals*, and which without destroying the very Notion of a Sovereign, you cannot abstract from him, no more than *roundness* from a Circle or Sphære. For they

(†) constitute the Essential difference between Supremacy and Subjection, so that, whosoever hath them, is a Compleat Sovereign, and whosoever wants them, or any of them, is a Subject, or at least, an Incomplete

(†) *Ad nullum pertinent, nisi ad coronam & dignitatem regiam, nec à coronâ separari poterunt cum faciant ipsam coronam. Bract. l. 2. c. 24.*

Sovereign; and in all Perfect and Regular Governments; these Essential Rights of Sovereignty equally belong to the *Supream Power*, whether Princes or States, by the Common, and Statute Laws thereof.

Such as these, in the First place,

is to be (†) *ἀντισημειωτέον* & *accountable* to none except God: For if there be

(†) Sam. Bochart. Ep. P. 32.

any Power to which Princes, or States are accountable, within their Dominions, let their Names sound never so big, they are not Sovereign, but Subject; Sovereignty, as the very Notion impliyes, being such a Preheminent Jurisdiction, as makes all other persons, within the Lines of it, accountable unto it, but it, or the person, or persons invested with it, accountable to none.

Secondly, To have the (||) Sole Power, & Disposal of the Sword,

(||) Ibid. p. 90.

for to suppose, that another hath a Right to bear the Sword besides the Sovereign, is to suppose, that the Sovereign hath an Equal; which is a Contradiction to the Notion of Sovereignty, and that in the same Government there may be two Sovereign Powers.

Thirdly,

3 Thirdly, To be free from all *Coercive*, and *Vindicative Power*; for if in any Government there were a Power, which had Authority to compel, or punish the Sovereign, for this Reason he would not be Sovereign, but a Subject to that Power.

4 Fourthly, Not to (||) be resisted or *withstood by Force upon any pretence whatsoever*; for otherwise the Sovereign would be controulable by Force, which is inconsistent with the Majesty, and Dignity of the *Sovereign Power*, and supposes that Subjects have a Right to Judge when they may resist, or withstand their Sovereign, which is a thousand times more

(||) Sam. Bochart Ep.
p. 41, 87. Ib. 140, 141.
Dr. Faulkners Christ.
Loyalty, v. 2. ch. 2.

inconvenient and pernicious to
Humane Societies, than *patiently*
submitting to the Abuse of the
Sovereign Power.

5 Lastly, To have the Legislative Power, or the Power that makes *any form of Words a Law*. The Sovereign Power may indeed be limited as to the Exercise of this Power, which may be confined to Bills, and Writings prepared by others, but still it is the Sovereign Authority, who gives Life, and Soul to the dead Letter of them; and all Princes, or States which want this Authority, let their Names and Titles be never so great, are not compleat Sovereigns, but Subjects, because upon this supposition, they have not Power to make Laws to bind others, but others have Power to make Laws to bind them.

Now the Laws by which these, and other Essentials of Sovereignty are established, may be called the *Imperial Laws*, or the *Common Laws of Sovereignty*, and *Christianity*, which our (†) Author well

(†) P. 92.

well observes, *destroys no mans Natural, or Civil Rights,* doth not destroy these Essential Rights of Sovereignty, but confirms them unto the Legal Sovereign in every Government, commanding his Subjects to observe them, and particularly the Imperial Law of *not resisting*, not only for Wrath, but for Conscience sake.

Wherefore in answer to his

(||) Question, *By what Law we must dye in Illegal Persecution?* (||) P. 81.

I answer, By the *Imperial Laws in every Government*, and by the Laws of the Gospel, which (as I shall hereafter shew) establish those Laws. In all perfect Governments, and particularly in the *English*, all these Rights legally belong to the Sovereign, who is the King, especially to be accountable to none but God, to *have the sole Power and Disposal of the Sword, and to be free from all Coercive, and Vindictive Power, and from Resistance by Force*, It is by these Common Laws of Sovereignty, that the Gospel requires Passive Obedience, which is but another name for Non-resistance; these Laws are in Eternal Force against the Subjects in defence of the Sovereign, (†) be he good, or evil, just, or unjust, Christian, or Pagan; be what he will, no Subject, or (||) number of Subjects can lift up his Hand against his Sovereign, & be Guiltless by these

Laws. (†) *Where there is no Law indeed, there is no Transgression*; But for the Subjects to bear the Sword

(†) Sa. Boch, ep. p. 51.

(||) Ib. p. 54, 55.

(†) P. 84.

(||) Ib. p. 86, 87.

against their Sovereign, or to defend themselves by Force against him, or his Forces, is against the Common Laws of Sovereignty; and by consequence (||) Passive Obedience even unto death, becomes a duty in *Sovereign Governments* by vertue of those Laws.

By

By the help of this Distinction between the Imperial Laws, which ascertain the Rights of the Sovereign, and the political, which are made to secure the Rights of the Subject, the heedful Reader may easily solve all that Mr. J. hath written by the help of Mr. H. his Supervisor, against Dr. *Hickes*.

(II) P. 92.

For he hath, as himself (II) confesseth, reduced all the Strength and Force of what he hath written against him in opposition to the Doctrine of Passive Obedience into 5 Propositions; every one of which I shall here, I hope, effectually evacuate, by adding a few Words, which may enable a common Capacity to see, how he hath perplexed the Truth.

The Propositions.

1. *Christianity destroys no Mans Natural, or Civil Rights, but confirms them*; and by consequence it destroys not the forementioned Rights of the Sovereign, but confirms them.

2. *All Men have both a Natural, and Civil Right and property in their Lives, till they have forfeited them by the Laws of their Country, i. e. by the Political Laws*, which are made to defend the Rights of the Subject, but in case the Sovereign will tyrannically take away a Subjects Life against the Political Laws, the Subject is bound by the Laws Imperial, or Common Laws of Sovereignty, not to resist him, or defend his Life against him by Force.

3. *When the Laws of God, and our Country interfere, and it is made death by the Law of the Land to be a good Christian, then we are to lay down our Lives for Christs Sake*. So far is very true, because every man is bound to submit to the Penalties of the Government

under which he lives : But then what follows is false, *This is the only case wherein the Gospel requires Passive Obedience, namely, when the [Political] Laws are against a Man* ; because the Gospel requires our submission to the *Imperial*, as well as the *Political* Laws ; but by the Imperial Laws in every perfect Government, the Subjects are absolutely forbidden to bear the Sword against the Sovereign, or to resist him upon any pretence whatsoever, and therefore are bound to suffer death wrongfully, rather than resist.

4. *That the killing of a Man contrary to Law, is Murder* ; And if the Sovereign kill a Man contrary to Law, he is guilty of Murder, but must answer for it to God only.

5. *That every Man is bound to prevent Murder, as far as the Law allows* ; But the *Imperial*, or *Prerogative Law*, allows no Man to prevent his own Murder, by rising up against, or resisting his Sovereign, and therefore the last words are false, *And ought not to submit to be murdered, if he can help it* ; unless by help it, he means help it by Prayers, and Tears.

I hope I have already sufficiently enervated the *Strength, and Force* of our Authors Arguments against *Passive Obedience, or Non-resistance* ; and now after his Example, I shall reduce the *Strength and Force* of what I have hitherto said, into these following Propositions.

- I. *Every Man, but more especially a Christian, is bound to submit to the Laws of the Government, under which he lives.*
- II. *The Government consists in the Imperial, as well as the Political Laws.*

III. *The*

III. *The Imperial Laws of every Government forbid resisting the Sovereign, and by consequence require Non-resistance.*

IV. *Non-resistance is the same thing with Passive Obedience, and by consequence Passive Obedience is required by the Imperial Laws of every Government.*

V. *Whatsoever the Imperial Laws of any Government require of its Subjects, if it be not contrary to Gods Laws, they are bound to perform it.*

VI. *Passive Obedience, or patient Suffering of Injuries from the Sovereign, is not forbid by Gods Laws, and therefore Subjects are bound to perform it, where it is required by the Imperial Laws.*

And now I shall desire these Men, who of late have thundred so much with Julian against the Thebean Legion, to consider well, what I have said in general about the Common Laws of Sovereignty; when they have digested it well, they will be convinced, how fallaciously the Author of that Pamphlet hath dealt with them in suppressing this Notion, and making them believe, That there were no Laws belonging to Government, but those, which I call Political Laws. But, as I have shewed, there are two Tables belonging to every perfect, and regular

- 1. Government, one which concerns the Majesty of the Sovereign, Gods Vicegerent, which I may call the first Table; and another, which concerns the Good and Safety of the People, which may be called the second Table; and these two together are the Compleat and Adequate Rule of Civil Obedience and Subjection, and Passive Obedience, or the Patient bearing of the greatest Injuries, when it is not a Duty by This, is very often so by That. When*

the

the Laws are against us, then it is our Duty by the second Table; and when the *Sovereign* is against us contrary to the Laws of the second Table, then it is our Duty by the Laws of the first, which absolutely forbid us to bear the Sword against him, or to repel his Forces by Force. Wherefore to answer our

Authors (†) Question, I am confident Dr. Hicks was very serious,

(†) P. 87.

and in earnest when he taught, and preached up *Passive Obedience for Evangelical in this case*. It may be seen by the Drs. Sermon, and other of his Pieces, that he doth not write rashly; and I have reason to presume that he asserted *Passive Obedience* upon the same bottom, that I now defend it. He is far from having *Mens* to prostitute their Lives to Malice, and Violence, for he would rather have them to abscond, or fly; but if they can, or will do neither in times of Illegal Persecution, he thinks there remains nothing for them to do, but patiently to submit to unavoidable Death. He had no reason to distinguish betwixt suffering according to, and contrary to Law, because he knew that neither the Laws of God, nor Man allow any Subject the Benefit of forcible defence against the illegal Violence of his Sovereign, but that by the *Laws Imperial* he ought to dye rather than resist: And if this (||) was

(||) P. 87.

too light for the Pulpit, and just such another Piece of Drollery, as that in the Dedication to Oliver Cromwel before Killing no Murder, I protest, I know not what it is to be serious in the Pulpit, nor what Apostolical Divinity is. The Gospel from one end to the other is full of this kind of Drollery; and for my own part, I seriously protest, I had rather be Passive, were

it

it possible, under a Thousand deaths in an Illegal Persecution, than be guilty of such Scurrility, not to say Blasphemy, against *the Doctrine of the Cross*.

Our Author in this, and such like Reflections, writes more like an Apostate from the Christian Religion, than a Minister of it; and if any thing in this Answer may contribute to make him sensible of his Sin, and bring him to the Humiliation and Repentance of his Elder Brother *Ecebolius*, I shall think my pains well spent.

But to bring this general Discourse about the Common Laws of *Sovereignty* to *our own Case*, I shall now proceed to shew, That the *English* Realm is a *perfect Sovereignty* or Empire, and that the King of *England*, by the Imperial Laws of it, is a *Compleat, Imperial, and Independent Sovereign*, to whom the foresaid Rights of Sovereignty do inseparably belong.

(ll) Sir Orl. Bridg-
mans Speech to the Re-
gicides, p. 12, 13.

(†) Cooks Instit. p.
4. c. 74.

The *English* Realm is a perfect
Sovereignty, and (ll) Empire, and
the King a Compleat, and Impe-
rial Sovereign. (†) Thus by
the whole Parliament 24 H. 8.
c. 12. it was resolved, and so
declared, *That by sundry Authen-
tick Histories and Chronicles it is manifestly declared
and expressed, that this Realm of England is an Em-
pire, and so hath been accepted in the World, governed
by one Supreme Head, and King, having Dignity and
Royal Estate of the Imperial Crown of the same. So
25 H. 8. c. 21. the Crown of this Kingdom is af-
firmed to be an Imperial Crown, in these words:
In great Derogation of your Imperial Crown and Au-
thority Royal. So 27 H. 8. c. 24. Most Ancient Pre-
rogatives and Authorities appertaining to the Imperial
Crown*

Crown of this Realm. So 1 Eliz. c. 2. Restoring and Uniting to the Imperial Crown of this Realm the Ancient Jurisdictions, &c. So 1 Jacob. cap. 1. A more Famous, and Greater Union of two Mighty, Famous; and Ancient Kingdoms under one Imperial Crown. And before the Conquest King (†)

Edgar stiled himself in his Charter *Basileus, Imperator, & Dominus*; and his Son St. Edward

(†) Rot. Parl. 1 E, 4. parte. 6. at large in Cokes Inst. part. 4. p. 359.

in a Charter, which he made to the Abbot of *Ramsay* (which my Lord Cook saith he had) stiled himself, *Ego Edwardus totius Albionis Dei moderante Gubernatione Basileus*.

Thus much may serve to shew, that the Realm of England is a Perfect Sovereignty, or Empire, and the King a Compleat Imperial Sovereign: Where, for the Readers satisfaction, I must observe, That the Regal Estate is then Imperial, when the King is Supream in his Dominions next under God, and hath full, perfect, and entire Jurisdiction from God alone, and all others within his Dominions, by emanation from him. Now this Perfection and Fulness of Imperial Power which makes an *Imperial Sovereign*, is of two sorts, such as is limited by the Laws of God and Nature only, or such as is limited by the Laws of God, and Nature, and Civil Laws, and Pactions too. The Power in both sorts of Sovereigns is Imperial, i. e. full, perfect, absolute, and entire, but the Exercise of it is differently bounded, and regulated, one by the Laws of God and Nature; and the other by Humane Positive Laws; and the latter Limitation doth no more destroy the Fulness, and Perfection, and Supremacy of the Power, than the former; because the Sovereign, who is under Political Limitations, as to the

Exercise of his Power, hath his Power nevertheless as absolutely, fully, and entirely in himself, as he that is only under the limitation of Divine, and Natural Laws.

(11) De laudibus Legum Angliæ c. 9. Rex Angliæ——— Principatu nedum regali, sed & politico suo populo dominatur.——— Regnum sic institui ut lex non liberè valeat populum tyrannide gubernare, quod solum fit dum potestas regia lege politicâ cohibetur.

Thus the Learned (||) Chancellor *Fortescue*, grants the King of England to have *Regal*, or *Imperial Power*, although it be under the Restraint and Regulation of the *Power Political*, as to the Exercise thereof. And as a Fountain, which hath Channels or Pipes made for it, within which its Waters are bounded in their passage, and through which they are to flow, is nevertheless as perfect a Fountain, and hath its Waters as fully, and entirely within it self, as any other Fountain whose Waters flow from it at liberty without any such Regulation: So a King, whose Imperial Power is limited by Humane Constitutions in the Exercise of it, is nevertheless as Compleat a Sovereign, and hath the Sovereign Power as fully and entirely within himself, as he who is at liberty to exercise his Authority, as he will. To be Arbitrary is no more of the Essence of an Imperial Sovereign, than to be free in the course of its Waters is of the Essence of a Fountain, but as the Fountain of an Aqueduct, for Example, is as perfect in its Kind, and generally more beneficial, and useful to Mankind, than a Free-flowing Spring: So limited Sovereigns are as perfect and essential Sovereigns, as the purely Arbitrary or Despotick, and generally more Beneficial, and Salutary to the World.

Passive Obedience Defended. 211

All that I have hitherto said, may be better understood by distinguishing between the *Being, and Essence* of Imperial, or Sovereign Power, and the *Exercise* and *Emanation* thereof. As to the *Being* and *Essence* of it, it is in as full perfection in the Limited as in the Arbitrary Sovereign, though the Law confines and limits him in the *Exercise* thereof; but to be confined in the *Exercise* doth not destroy the *Being*, nor diminish the perfection of Sovereign Power, for then the Power of God himself could not be Sovereign, because there are certain immutable Rules of Truth, and Justice, within which it is necessarily limited, and confined. But God is nevertheless a perfect Imperial Sovereign over the Universe, though the *Exercise* of his Government over his Creatures be limited by the Eternal Laws of Truth and Equity. It is true, that this Limitation of Almighty God is *Intrinsic*, and proceeds from the perfection of his Righteous and Holy Nature, but yet it shews, that the most perfect and absolute Imperial Power may, without a Contradiction, be confined within bounds, and limited in the actual *Exercise* thereof; and that such moderation, and limitation of Power Absolute, and Imperial, doth only qualify, and temper, and not destroy the *Essence* thereof. And therefore Cook in *Candrey's Case* saith, That by the Ancient Laws of this Realm England is an Absolute Empire, and Monarchy; and that the King is furnished with Plenary, and Entire Power, Prerogative, and Jurisdiction, and is Supreme Government over all Persons within this Realm.

And if any man will but attend well to his own Thoughts, he will find no Inconsistency between the Fulness of Sovereign, or Imperial Power in the Root and *Essence* of it, and a legal limitation of

the Use, and Exercise thereof. And from hence it comes to pass, That the King of *England*, though he be limited in the *Use and Exercise* of his Power, yet he is as much the Fountain of all Power, and Jurisdiction within his Dominions, as if he were Arbitrary; He hath none to share with him in the Sovereignty, but all Power and Authority is derived from him like Light from the Sun; in Him alone it is Radically and Originally placed; He hath no Sharers or Co-partners in the Sovereignty; none Co-ordinate with him in Government; no Equal, nor Superior, but only God, to whom alone he is

Subject. Hence saith (†) *Bracton*, who wrote in the Reign of *Henry the Third*, *Omnis quidem*

sub rege, & ipse sub nullo, sed tantum sub Deo; non est inferior sibi subjectis, non parem habet in regno suo. And afterwards, *Ipse autem Rex non debet esse sub Homine, sed sub Deo*: And then, to shew that he is a Sovereign doubly limited in the Use of his Power, by the Laws of God, and the Civil Laws of his Kingdom, he adds, *Et sub Lege, quia Lex facit Regem.* In the same place he calls him *Vicarius Dei*, and saith, *Vices gerit Jesu Christi*; and nothing greater could be said of *Cesar*, or the most Despotic Sovereign, that ever was.

So the Statute of *Premunire* 26 R. 2. c. 5. declares, That the Crown of *England* hath been so free at all times, that it hath been in no Earthly Subjection, but immediately Subject to God in all things touching the Regality of the same Crown. And in 25 H. 8. c. 21 the Parliament directing their Declaration to the King, enacted and declared, That this your Graces Realm recognizing no Superiour under God, but only your Grace, hath been, and is free from Subjection, &c.

And

And in 24 H. 8. c. 12. after the words before cited it follows, unto whom a Body Politick — been bounden and owen to bear next unto God a Natural, and Humble Obedience, He being instituted and furnished, with plenary, whole, and entire Power, Preheminence, Authority, &c. So 2 Ed. 6. c. 2. — Seing that all Authority of Jurisdiction Spiritual and Temporal is derived and deducted from the Kings Majesty, as Supream Head of these Churches and Realms. — So in the Oath of Supremacy 1 Eliz. I A. B. do utterly testifie, and declare in my Conscience; that the Queens Highness is the only Supream Governour of this Realm.

To all this I may add, the common Stile of both Houses in Parliament, Our Gracious Sovereign, and our Dread Sovereign Lord the King: Which is also used in the old Oath of Allegiance mentioned in Britton in cap. 29. *De tournes de Viscontes*, You shall swear that from this day forward you shall be true and faithful to our Sovereign Lord Edward —. Hence

by (+) Common Law many Pre-rogatives belong to the King (+) Sheringham.
by vertue of his Sovereignty. Kings Suprem.c.4.

He cannot give any Man the Stile, or Title of *Dominus*, because he himself is *Omnium subditorum Supremus Dominus*. He can hold Land of no Man, because he can have no Superior; and if a Man formerly held Land of the King and of another Lord, whereby his Heir became a Ward, the King had the Custody of the Heir and Land, because, as *Glanvil* saith, L. 7. c. 10. *Dominus Rex nullum habere potest parem, multo minus Superiorem*. The reason is given by *Bracton*, l. 2. c. 37. And as (+) Stanford (+) C. 22. shews in his Exposition of the

Kings Prerogative, By the Common Law there lyeth no Action, or Writ against the King, but when he seizeth his Subjects Lands, or Goods, having no Title by Order of his Laws so to do; Petition is all the Remedy the Subject hath, and this Petition is called, A Petition of Right.

Having now shew'd, that the Realm of England is a perfect Sovereignty, or Empire, and the King, a Compleat, and Imperial Sovereign, Subject unto none but God, it must needs follow, that he hath all the Essential Rights of perfect Sovereignty belonging unto him, as to be unaccountable to any Humane Power; to have the sole Right and Disposal of the Sword; to be free from all Coercive and Vindicative Power; to be irresistible, and unopposable, or not to have his Forces repelled by Force. A Stranger, that hath read, what I have written to shew, that he is a Compleat and Imperial Sovereign, must needs presume, that these, and all other Essential Rights of Sovereignty belong to him by the Common Laws of Sovereignty, or that by the Imperial Laws of his Realm he must be invested with the foresaid Rights. It would be a Contradiction to call this an Imperial Crown, to acknowledge the King for Supream over all Persons, to say he hath no Superior but God, that he is Subject to him alone, and that he is furnished with Plenary and entire Power, unless he have all those Rights, which are involved in the very Notion of his Imperial Sovereignty, as I have explained it from the Statutes and Customes of this Realm. For
 1. first, To say that he is the only Supream Governour within his Realm and Dominions and Subject to none, but God, must needs imply, that he is *ἀντιστοιχῶν*, or unaccountable for what he doth amiss to any Tribunal but that of Heaven, whose Vicegerent he is. If
 there

there were any Power in his Kingdoms, that could call him to account for Maladministration, for that very Reason he would not be a *Compleat Sovereign*, but the Power to whom he was accountable would be Superior, and not he. It must also follow from his being *instituted and furnished with plenary, whole, and entire Power, and Jurisdiction*, that he must be Unaccountable; for from whom shall any person, or state of Men have Power and Authority to call his Majesty to Account? All Power and Jurisdiction *Spiritual, and Temporal is derived and deducted from him, as Supream Head of these Churches, and Realms*; and from whom then shall any Man, or state of Men derive Authority of Judging, or Trying him? It can be from none but himself; But to imagine that he will subject himself to any Superior Jurisdiction, is an apparent Absurdity in Hypothesis, and in Thesis such an Act would be void by its own Nature, if that be true, which the

(†) Lords and Commons declared in full Parliament in the time of Edw. the Third, *That they could not assent to anything in Parliament, that tended to the Disinherison of the King, and his Crown.* This Phrase of the *Disinherison of the King, and the Crown* in other (||) Acts of Parliament is called, *The Destruction of the Kings Sovereignty, his Crown, his Regality*, and things that tend thereunto, things that

are openly against the Kings Crown in Derogation of his Regality. So that, if an Improvident King should consent to an Act so Destructive of his Sovereignty,

(†) Cokes Inst. part 4. p. 14. *Suprema Jurisdictio & potestas Regia, etsi Princeps velit, se separari non possunt; sunt enim ipsa forma & substantialis essentia Majestatis, ergo inmanente rege ab eo abdicari non possunt.* Cavedo. Pract. Observ. p. 2. Decis. 40.n. 8.

(||) Statute of Praemunire, 16 R.2.c.5.

it would be of no more Force, than an Act to make another King Co-partner with him in the Supream Power, or an Act to pass over the Realm to a Foreign Prince.

2. But 2dly, To say that *the King is the only Supream Governour, instituted, and furnished with plenary, whole, and entire Power, and Jurisdiction, must needs imply*, that he alone hath the Power of the Sword; for were the Power of the Sword in any else, he could not be furnished with *plenary, whole, and entire Power*. Besides, the Civil Power is insignificant without the Military, and therefore if the Civil Power were seated in him, and the Military in any other Person or State, the *English Realm* would have two Sovereigns, one Civil, and another Military, which is most absurd to think. Therefore by the Common Laws of Sovereignty, the Power of the Sword, like all other *Temporal Power must be derived, and deducted from him, as Supream Head, and Governour of this Realm*; and indeed his Sovereignty would be an empty insignificant nothing, were the Scepter in his Hand, and the Sword in any others. And therefore Glanvil in his Prologue before his *Tractat. de leg. & consuet. regni Anglia*, supposeth the Power of the Sword primarily necessary for the King. *Regiam majestatem non solum armis oportet esse decoratam, sed & legibus*; The Kings Majesty ought to be fortified not only with Arms, but with Laws; with Arms in the first place, without which his Laws would be little worth. So saith Fleta l. 1. c. 17. *Habet Rex in manu sua omnia Jura — Et materiale gladium, qui pertinet ad regni gubernaculum*. So saith Bacon in the beginning of his first Book, *In rege qui rectè regit, necessaria sunt duo hæc, Arma videlicet & Leges, &c.* And if the Sword be originally in the Kings Hand,
- and

and none can bear it without Authority derived from him, it must needs follow from hence, that he must be free from all Coercive, and Vindictive Power, and that no Man can lawfully resist him, or his Forces, because no Man can lawfully bear the Sword [except for private Defence] but by Commission from him. I would fain be resolved by the *Super-*viser of *Julian*, who can Array the People against their Sovereign and his Armies, or who hath Authority (for example) to make *him* a Captain, or as much as a Drummer of a Company, if there should fall out an hopeful Occasion of recovering some lost Bishops-Lands? All Commissions of that nature would be unauthoritative; and therefore how a man can either give, or receive such unauthoritative Commissions, or oppose, or resist the King and his Armies by vertue of them, without sin, I desire *Mr. H.* as a Lawyer, and *Mr. J.* as a Divine, to resolve.

It is true what he (||) saith,
That a Popish Successor can have (||) P. 84.
no Authority to exercise any illegal

Cruelty upon Protestants, but then the Question, which he puts to the Doctor upon it, is Fallacious, in desiring him to resolve *how far such Inauthoritative Acts [in the Sovereign] which carry no Obligation at all, can oblige men to Obedience?* I answer for the Doctor, If by Obedience he means Active service and obedience, no man is bound to serve the King in exercising any illegal Cruelty, No! He ought rather to suffer himself; but if by Obedience he means *Passive Obedience*, [or else his Question is nothing to the Purpose] I answer, That it is the Christian, the *English* Subjects Duty to suffer patiently such unauthoritative Cruelty from his Sovereign [till legal

Question.

Answer.

Sal Remedy can be had] because to oppose, or resist him, and his Forces by Force, is unauthoritative, and against the Imperial Laws of this Realm.

But because we live in an Age, wherein there are great Numbers of Disaffected and Deluded Persons, who are deaf to all Reason, and Common Law, which is nothing but Common Reason, when it is urged in defence of the Crown, I will now shew, that these Essential Rights of Sovereignty, which I have been discoursing of, are declared to belong to the person of the King by the expresse Statutes of this Realm.

First then, He is declared to be not accountable to his Subjects, or obnoxious to their Coercive Power, 12 Car. 2. c. 30. *We your Majesties said Dutyful, and Loyal Subjects the Lords, and Commons in Parliament assembled, beseech your most Excellent Majesty, that it may be declared, and be it hereby declared, that by the Undoubted and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of this Realm, nor the Commons, nor both together, in Parliament, or out of Parliament, nor the People Collectively, or Representatively, nor any other Persons whatsoever, ever had, have, or ought to have any Coercive Power over the Persons of the Kings of this Realm.* By the 25 Ed. 3. c. 2. it is declared, without excepting any manner of Cases, or Pretences to the contrary, That to levy War against our Lord the King in his Realm, or be adherent to the Kings Enemies in his Realm, giving them Aid, or Comfort in the Realm, or elsewhere, is Treason. And (†) Coke upon

the place, saith, That this was High Treason before by the Common Law; for no Subject can levy War within the Realm

*Power of
War.*

(†) 3 Inst. p. 9.

Realm without Authority from the King. If any levy War (saith he) to expulse Strangers, to deliver men out of Prisons, to remove Counsellors, or against any Statute, or to any other End, pretending Reformation, of their own Heads without Warrant, this is Levying of War against the King, because they take upon them Royal Authority.

(||) In the 7th. year of Edw. 1. (||) Sheringhams
a Statute was made, wherein the Kings Suprem. c. 3.

Kings Power over the Militia is acknowledged, and force of Armour to belong to him: And saith (†)

(†) Jenkinfius Radivivus, p. 19.

Judge Jenkins, All Jurisdictions do, and of right ought to belong to the King; all Commissions to levy men for War are Awarded by the King; the Power of War only belongs to the King; it belongs to the King to Defend his People, and to provide Arms, and Force. (||) Since his

(||) 13 Car. 2. 1.

Majesties Restauration, it was also in General Terms declared Treason To levy War against the King within this Realm, or without: And to cut off all popular pretences of Defensive War, it is declared by 13 Car. 2. c. 6. That the sole Supreme Government, Command, and Disposition of the Militia, and of all Forces by Sea, and Land, and of all Forts, and places of Strength, is, and by the Laws of England ever was the Undoubted Right of his Majesty, and his Royal Predecessors, and that both, or either of the Houses of Parliament, cannot, or ought to pretend to the same, nor can, nor lawfully may raise or levy any War Offensive, or Defensive against his Majesty, his Heirs, and Lawful Successors. Behold the Doctrine of Non-resistance in its full Amplitude, the very Doctrine of the Bow-string declared by Act of Parliament. Were the two Houses serious

and

Militia &c.

and in earnest when they made this Declaration? Would they really have Men prostitute their Lives to Malice and Violence, when the Laws of God and the Kingdom Protekt them? Surely this is too Light for the Parliament, and is just such another piece of Drollery, as that which was Dedicated to Oliver Cromwel in the Book called Killing no Murder. Bating that Dedication, there was never any thing like this Passive Act of Parliament, for wheedling the People out of their Lives. Alas! Alas! This is an Act fit to turn the Nation into a Shambles, and enough to tempt, and invite Cruelty into the World. For let a Prince be either a Papist, or an Atheist, and his Subjects fettered and manacled with this Slavish Act, and then what hinders, but the one of them may destroy Millions for their Estates, and Heresie together, and the other, as many, to see what Faces, and Grimaces they will make. According to this Act, the Lives of the best Men in the Kingdom shall be exposed to the Fiery, and Ambitious Zeal of a Papist, or the Extravagant Unaccountable Humours of a Wretch, and hang at their Girdles, as Souls do at the Popes.

Is it not a sad thing, to have the Murdering piece of Passive Obedience planted against the people by an Act of Parliament, to leave us nothing to defend our selves, but the old Artillery of Prayers and Tears? But yet, so Wise as Legislators, so Religious as Christians, and so Loyal as Subjects was that Parliament, that they made this Declaration the second time, as it may be seen 13, 14 Car. 2. cap. 3.

And by all these Statutes cited, it appears, That the King is Accountable to none but God; That the Sword is solely his, and theirs to whom He commits it; That he can be Subject to no Coercive or Vindicative Power, nor ought any way to be resisted by Force.

Indeed

Indeed our Author (||) doth freely acknowledge, that according to the known Laws of England, a Popish Prince, when he is Lawfully possess of the Crown, will be Inviolable and Unaccountable, as to his own Person, and ought by no means to have any Violence offered to him. This is something, but it is not all; 'tis the Truth, but not the Whole Truth: For I have shewn by the known Laws of this Land, that the People can make no Military, or Forcible Resistance against the King; they must not rise up against Him, and his Armies in their own Defence; the Laws have fettered and manacled them with the Slavish Principle of Passive Obedience; they must not lift up their Hands against their Sovereign to oppose him or his Forces, for they have no Right to the Sword, but what he gives them (except for private Defence) no body without his Authority can Array them, and by these Laws there are no Cases excepted, no, not the Case of a Popish Successor, which makes our Authors Heart ake, & for not excepting of which in his Bow-Sermon, he is so angry at Dr. Hickes. But the Dr. as (†) Ignorant as he hath made him in the English Historians, was (it seems) better versed in the English Antiquities, and Customs, and in the Old Lawyers, and Common, and Statute-Laws of the Land, than to make any Exception, or Distinction, where the Law makes none, according to that Old Maxim, *Ubi lex non distinguit, ibi non est distinguendum*. And besides, the Dr. remembred what his Uncharitable Brother Mr. J. had forgot, That according to the Act of Uniformity, he had subscribed, declared, and acknowledged, That it is not lawful, upon any pretence what-

(||) P. 84.

(†) P. 90.

whatsoever, to take Arms against the King, and that he did abhor that Traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are Commissionated by him. It was apparently the Design of the Three Estates in this Act, to secure the Nation of such Ministers, as would preach up the Doctrine of *Non-resistance* without distinction; and whether the Doctor that hath so preached it, or Mr. J. that hath so maliciously opposed it, is more Conformable to the Act, and True to his Oath, let the World judge. He granted, as I observed before, that the Person of the King is *Inviolable, and free from Violence*; but then, as if he had granted too much, he seems to retract it in part again; For, (†) saith he with the

(†) P. 88.

Noble Peer, whom he calls a **Worthy Person**, one single Arm unresisted may go a great way in Massacring a Nation. And p. 85. How far men may endeavour notwithstanding [the Kings Person is Inviolable] to save themselves, when Princes will be the Executioners of their own Cruelty, without breach of their Allegiance———, If they have a mind they may ask. Ask, of whom? of Harry Nevil? or Mr. H. or of which of the Heretick Lawyers? Which of the discontented Enemies of the Prerogative will oblige the World with this New Discovery? Or if Mr. J. knew it, why did he hide his Talent, and put the World to the trouble of Asking? But I am afraid, because he did not, it is something he durst not tell, some State-Mystery that his Great Assertor of Laws, and Religion now with God told him was not safe to speak, some *Plato-Redivivus*-Doctrine; likely something, that depended upon this Atheistical, as well as Illegal Principle in England, That all Power is

Radi-

Radically in the People, and that the King is their Minister, and not the Minister of God.

Whatever it was, I will stand no longer guessing: But having shewed that *Passive Obedience* is required in all Perfect, and Regular Governments by the Common Laws of Sovereignty, and more particular in this Realm by the *Imperial Laws* thereof; I will proceed to enquire how far the Church, and — Ancient Churchmen have agreed with the *Three Estates*; for I find, that our Author makes much use of Ecclesiastical Authority, particularly of our Reformers, and of the Book of Homilies, when they favour him; but how far he will value them, when they are against him, especially in this Controversie between him, and the Doctor, about *Passive Obedience*, I will not undertake to tell.

I will begin with *the Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, set forth by King Henry the 8th. with the Advise of his Reforming Clergy, who were the Compilers of it, such as *Crammer*, and other Martyrs, who on the Fifth Commandment write thus: **Subjects be bound not to withdraw their Fealty, Truth, Love, and Obedience towards their Prince for any Cause whatsoever it be, ne for any cause they may Conspire against his Person, ne do any thing towards the Hinderance, or Hurt thereof, nor of his Estate.** And afterwards they prove this out of *Rom. 13.* **Whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist the Ordinance of God, shall get to themselves Damnation.** And upon the Sixth Commandment: **No Subjects may draw their Swords against their Prince for any cause whatsoever it be, nor against any other**

other (saving for Lawful Defence) without their Princes License—— And although Princes, which be the Supream Heads of their Realms, do otherwise than they ought to do; yet God hath assigned no Judges over them in this World, but will have the Judgment of them reserved to himself, and will punish them, when he seeth his time——

So much for the Authority of *Cramner, Ridley, Redman, &c.* From whence I pass to the Book of Homilies, which p. 104. he hath recommended to every Bodies Reading; as one of the best Books, that he knows in the World, next the Bible. In the second part of the Sermon of Obedience; Subjects are bound to obey them as Gods Ministers, although they be Evil, not only for Fear, but also for Conscience sake; and here Good People, let us all mark diligently, That it is not lawful for Inferiors, and Subjects, in any case to resist, and stand against the Superior Powers: For St. Pauls words be plain, That whosoever withstandeth shall get to themselves Damnation.—— Our Saviour Christ himself, and his Apostles received many, and divers Injuries of the Unfaithful, and Wicked Men in Authority; yet we never read that they, or any of them caused any Sedition or Rebellion against Authority. We read oft that they patiently suffered all Troubles, Vexations, Slanders, Pangs, and Pains, and Death it self obediently without Tumult, or Resistance—— Christ taught us plainly, that even the wicked Rulers have their Power, and Authority from God; and therefore [mark the Reason] it is not lawful for their Subjects to withstand them, although they abuse their Power: And yet Mr. J. in contradiction to this Book, which he hath recommended, as the best Book next to the

the Bible, (†) saith, That this Doctrine is Intolerable and contrary both to the Gospel, and the Law of the Land. But this Homily further tells us, That the Vocation, and Calling of Gods People is to be patient, and of the suffering Side, and that we ought to obey Governours, although they be wicked, and wrong-doers. Afterwards it proves from the Example of David, That we may not withstand, nor in any wise hurt

(†) Preface p. 8.

an (||) Anointed King, [mark the Reason again] which is Gods Lieutenant, Vicegerent, and Highest Minister, in that Country where he is King.

(||) Sam. Bochart. Ep. ad D. Morley, p. 80.

—He durst not once lay Hands upon Gods High Officer the King, whom he did know to be a Person reserved, and kept only to Gods Punishment. — A General Rule and Lesson to all Subjects in the World not to withstand their Liege Lord, and King, nor to take a Sword by their private Authority against their King, Gods Anointed, who only beareth the Sword by Gods Authority, for the Maintenance, &c. — Who only by Gods Law hath the Use of the Sword at his Command — It is an intolerable Madness, Ignorance, and Wickedness for Subjects to make any murmuring, rebellion, resistance, or withstanding Commotion, or Insurrection against their Sovereign Lord. We may not in any wise withstand violently, or rebel against Rulers, or make any Insurrection, Sedition, or Tumults either by force of Arms, or otherwise against the Anointed of the Lord, or his Officers, but we must in such case patiently suffer all Wrongs and Injuries, referring the Judgment of our Cause only to God.

Here we have Line upon Line, and Precept upon Precept, for Passive Obedience: Here we are taught,

Q

that

that we must suffer all sorts of Wrongs, and Injuries from our Sovereign, without Resistance, and withstanding of him; and in this Realm, I am sure the Sovereign cannot wrong or injure his Subjects, but contrary to the Political Laws. But to go on with this next best Book to the Bible: In the second part of the Homily against Disobedience, and wilful Rebellion. David was fain to save his Life, not by Rebellion, or any Resistance, but by Flight, and bidding himself from the Kings Sight. ——— Shall not we, being good Men, as we are, Rise and Rebel against a Prince hated of God, and Gods Enemy, and likely to be Hurtful, and Pernicious to the Commonwealth? Shall we not Rise and Rebel against so Unkind a Prince, nothing considering, or regarding our True, Faithful, and Painful Service, or the Safeguard of our Posterity? Shall we not Rise and Rebel, against our known, mortal, and deadly Enemy, that seeketh our Lives? No, saith Godly David. What shall we do then to an Evil, to an Unkind Prince, an Enemy to us, hated of God, hurtful to the Commonwealth, &c. Lay no Violent hand upon him, saith Good David, but let him live until God appoint, and work his End. — If King David would make these Answers, as by his Deeds, and Words recorded in the Holy Scriptures indeed he doth make unto all such Demands concerning Rebelling against Evil Princes, Unkind Princes, Cruel Princes, Princes that be to their good Subjects mortal Enemies, Princes that are out of Gods Favour, and so Hurtful, or like to be Hurtful to the Commonwealth, what Answer?

(II) P. III.

And now to use our Unanswerable Authors (II) own words, I have been the more Copious in these Citations,

Passive Obedience Defended. 227

Citations, to shew, that this is the standing Doctrine of the Church of England, to which all Orders of the Clergy have subscribed, and Mr. J. among the rest. The Church of England long since (†) calculated and fitted this Doctrine for the use of a Popish Successor: And (†) P. 89.

if the Doctor hath been ill taught by his Mother, the Blame is to be laid upon her, and he is to be excused. It is She that taught him to preach up Passive Obedience like a (||) Parasite, Sycophant, and Murderer, Poor Man! He (||) P. 81.

sucked it in his Mothers Milk, it was bred in his Bone, and I fear it will never go out of his Flesh. Nay, to see what a sad Fate attends some Men, he had the Misfortune to be bred in Oxford, where Passive Obedience hath long been the Doctrine of the Malignant place, as appears by Mr.

*(†) Gillespie, one of Mr. J's Old Masters, who called *Precēs, & Lachrymæ, the New Oxford Divinity*, which however is*

(†) In the Preface to a Sermon preached before the House of Commons.

*somewhat less Offensive, than the Mountebank Receipt of Prayers, and Tears. Nay, so determined was the Doctor by his unhappy Stars to imbibe that Slavish Principle, that he was bred in the very same College, where the Immortal *Sanderson* drew up the *Universities Unanswerable Reasons against the Covenant*, out of which Mr. J.*

hath (||) taken the most witty Allusion in his Book, where

(||) Preface p. 3.

speaking of Passive Obedience without a Law to require it, he saith, It is like one of the marvellous Accidents of Transubstantiation, which makes a Shift to subsist when it hath lost its Subject; which is the very

i. Univ. of Oxford

(||) Judicium Acad.
Oxon. de fœdere, p. 66.
*Rex vel in propria sua
persona coram, & cor-
poraliter adest, vel ab-
sens presentiam suam
supplet per delegatos
quosdam [sive commis-
sionarios] suos magni
sigilli autoritate ad hoc
deputatos, quævis alia
presentia realis ænig-
matis instar est, tran-
substantiationis mon-
stro haud absimilis, spe-
ctrum scilicet, & phan-
tasma.*—

(†) Coke in Calvins
Case, p. 439.

same Illustration that the (||) U-
niversity made use of to set forth
the monstrous Absurdity of pre-
tending the Kings Authority
and Presence, where he was
neither in Person, nor by his
Commissioner. I think it not
amiss to put Mr. J. in mind of
his vain Distinction, lest his Su-
perviser, should teach him to
reply, That the *Imperial Laws*
above cited, regard the *Politick*,
and not the *natural Person* of the
Sovereign. But to prevent him
from flying to this miserable
shift, I must tell him, That in
the (†) Reign of *Edw. 2.* the
Spencers, the Father and the Son,
to cover their Treason, invent-

ed this damnable Opinion, That Homage, and Al-
legiance was due to the King more upon the account
of his *Politick Capacity*, than his *Natural Person*:
Upon which Opinion they inferred execrable and
detestable Consequents; 1. *That if the King did
not demean himself by Reason in the Right of his Crown,*
his Lieges were bound by Oath to remove him. 2. *That*
when the King could not be reformed by Suite of Law,
what ought to be done by the Sword. 3. *That his Lieges*
be bound to Govern in Aid of him, and in Default of
him. All which were condemned by two Parlia-
ments, one in the Reign of *Ed. 2.* called *Exilium*
Hugonis le Spencer, and the other in *Ann. 1. Edw. 3.*
cap. 1.

If I should produce no more Authorities, but these already cited, it were enough to shew the Concurrence of the Church, and Church-men with the Three Estates of this Realm as to the Doctrine of *Non-resistance*, or *Passive Obedience*, but because I have undertaken the Doctors Vindication, I will shew what brave Men before him have defended this *Bloody Doctrine*, that so, if he cannot be Justified, he may at least be Excused.

I begin with Bishop *Bilson*, as I find him speaking in his Book of the *True Difference between Christian Subjection, and Unchristian Rebellion*, written against the Papists in *Queen Elizabeths Time*, and printed 1586. There p. 256. *Theoph.* saith, Our Saviour foreteaching his Disciples, that they should be brought before Kings, and Rulers, and put to death, and hated of all men for his Names sake, addeth not as you would have it, and he that first rebelleth, but he that Endureth to the End shall be saved; And again, Not with Violence restrain them, but in patience possess your Souls. p. 260. Deliverance if you would have, obtain it by Prayer, and expect it in Peace, those be Weapons for Christians. p. 262. The Subject hath no refuge against his Sovereign, but only to God, by Prayer, and Patience. p. 278. Your Spanish Inquisitions, and French Massacres, where you murdered Men, Women, and Children by thousands and ten thousands, against the very Grounds of all Equity, Piety, and Humanity, without convicting, accusing, or calling them before any Judge to hear what was misliked in them, are able to set Grave and Good Men at their Wits end, and to make them justly doubt, since you refuse the course of all Divine, and Humane Laws with them, whether by the Law of Nature they may not defend themselves against such Barbarous Blood-suckers, yet we stand not on that, if the Laws of the

Land, where they converse, do not permit them to Guard their Lives, when they are assaulted against Law (or if they take Arms as you do, to Depose Princes) we will never excuse them from Rebellion. p. 279. For my part I must confess, except the Laws of those Realms do permit the People to stand on their Right, if the Prince would offer that Wrong, I dare not allow their Arms.

This is his determination in case of a Massacre, which is the Extremity of Tyranny, and it is agreeable not only to the Scripture, but to the Practice of the Primitive Christians, who against Equity, Humanity, and the Common Law of all Civil Governments, endured many Tyrannical Massacres, when they were able to resist.

And Bishop Jewel, whom I should have set first, in his Defence of the Apology p. 15. saith unto Harding, *We teach the people, as St. Paul doth, to be Subject to the Higher Powers, not only for Fear, but also for Conscience: We teach them, that whose striketh with the Sword by private Authority, shall perish with the Sword. If the Prince happen to be wicked, or cruel, or burdensom, we teach them to say with St. Ambrose, Arma nostra sunt preces, & lachrymae; Tears and Prayers be our Weapons.* He reckons this Bishop among the Worthies p. 14. of his Preface, but according to him he must have been, but a Quack in Divinity, for he was for the old Mountebank Receipt of Prayers and Tears. The People of England it seems were taught in his time, as the Doctor taught the Citizens of London in his Bow-Sermon, and therefore Passive Obedience was either Heterodox Divinity then, or else it is none now. Nay, it was taught by the Martyrs themselves in Queen Maries days; for Bradford in his Letter saith,——Howbeit,

never

never for any thing resist or rise up against the Magistrates. And Bishop *Laumer* in King *Edward* the Sixths days, taught it very plainly in his 4th. Sermon before the King, in his Familiar Homespun Stile; When I was travailed in the Tower (saith he) my Lord Darby was telling me of the Faithful Service, that he had done the Kings Majesty, that dead is. And had I seen my Sovereign Lord in the Field (saith he) and had I seen his Grace come against us, I would have lighted from my Horse, and taken my Sword by the Point, and yielded it into his Graces hands. Mary (quod I) but in the mean season you played not the part of a Faithful Subject, in holding with the People in a Commotion, and Disturbance. It hath been the Cast of all Traytors to pretend nothing against the Kings Person, they never pretend the matter to the King, but to others. Subjects may not resist any Magistrates; nor ought to do nothing contrary to the Kings Laws.

I could produce much more to the same purpose, out of Archbishop *Sandys* his Sermons, Dr. *Willet* upon *Rom. 13.* Dr. *Hakewels* *Scutum Regium*, Dr. *Boys* his Postils, Dean *Nowell* on the 5th. Com. Dr. *Owen* in his *Antiparaus*, Mr. *Perkins* on the 5th. Com. the Little Book called *Deus & Rex*, not to mention Bishop *Sanderfon*, and other latter Divines, but I have said enough to Justifie Dr. *Hickes*, or Condemn the Church of *England*, and her Reformers, and the most Famous Divines that She hath bred. Let Mr. *J.* look to it, either the Dr. hath done well, or else they are all in the same Condemnation with him. And that he may know what a severe Censure he deserves for opposing this Evangelical

Principle, which the Dr. preached up, I refer him to *Erasmus* in *Luc. 22. 36.* especially to these words; *Mihi nulla hæresis videtur perniciosior, nulla blasphemia secleratioꝝ, quam si quis philistinorum exemplo Evangelici agri puteos, qui a Christo venam habent aqua vivæ scatentis in vitam æternam, terrâ oppleta & sensum spiritualem vertat in carnalem, doctrinam celestem depravet in terrenam, ac sacro-sancta Christi dogmata detorqueat, imò corrumpat, idq; reclamantibus omnibus ejus præceptis, reclamante totâ ipsius vitâ, reclamante doctrinâ Apostolicâ, refragantibus tot martyrum millibus, repugnantibus vetustis interpretibus.* I do not accuse him of Heresie, Blasphemy, or perverting the Truths of the Gospel, but if *Erasmus* do it, I cannot help it, he must get off, as well, as he can.

— Having now, I hope, shewn that Passive Obedience is required of all Subjects by the Common Laws of Sovereignty, and in particular of the *English* by the *Laws Imperial* belonging to this Crown, I might here conclude this Chapter, but that having undertaken the Defence of the *Doctor*, I am obliged to answer some particular Passages, which cannot well be answered but apart by themselves.

In the 80th. p. he cites this Passage out of the *Doctors* Sermon, ‘Neither doth the Gospel prescribe any Remedy but Flight against the Persecutions of the Lawful Magistrate, allowing of no other Mean, when we cannot escape, betwixt denying, and dying for the Faith. To this he Replies, ‘What the Gospel Prescribes is one thing, what it Allows is another: There are ten thousand things allowed by the Gospel, not one of which is prescribed by it. But what is this to the purpose? the *Doctor* speaks there of the only Gospel-Expedient, or Remedy against Persecution, which

which is *Flight*. He asserts, that the Gospel allows of no other Mean against the Persecutions of the Lawful Magistrate; and if it allow no other, then certainly it prescribes *That*. The Physitian that allows but of one only Medicine against the Plague, doth certainly prescribe it to the Patient: And to make no more words about the matter, *Flight*, by the Gospel, is a prescription as necessary for a Christian Subject that would save his Life in time of Persecution, as a Ship to a Man that would cross the Seas.

Afterwards he saith p. 89. *That he is afraid, that the Doctor calculated, and fitted the Doctrine of Passive Obedience for the use of a Popish Successor, and to make us an easier Prey to the Bloody Papists.* This is a very Uncharitable Censure from a Brother; and I am verily perswaded, that if Mr. J. would speak the Truth betwixt God and his own Conscience, he doth not believe, that the Doctor fitted that Doctrine on the 30th. of Jan. for the use of a Popish Successor, but for the proper Design of the Day, *To shew (as he speaks in his Sermon) the great Difference betwixt the Principles, and Practises of Christ and the Primitive Christians, and the Principles and Practises of our New Reformers.* Had it been some New Notion never started before, had it not been taught by all the Episcopal Divines of the English Reformation, nay, had it not been a plain Gospel-Notion taught and practised by Christ, and his Apostles, who (to use our Authors Irreverent words in a Reverent manner) *turned the Church into a Shambles*, then he might have said that it was *Calculated, and Fitted by the Doctor*, but now I have made it appear, how it was calculated and fitted to his Hands. It was calculated, and fitted by Bishop
Latimer

Latimer in the time of King *Edw. 6.* against the time of his *Popish Successor Queen Mary*, and he suffered at a Stake, to Exemplifie his Doctrine in the following *Popish Persecution*, and so (I am confident) would the Doctor, and the rest of his *Theban Brethren*, (however Mr. J. may please to slander them) by the help of Gods Assistance do so too.

But let us see his pretended Reasons for this Uncharitable Censure. *Why else* (saith he) *is there all that Wrath against every little Pamphlet, which opposes that Interest?* The Pamphlets cited by the Doctor in p. 29. of his Sermon, are, *The Appeal from the City to the Country*, *Plato Redivivus*, *A Brief History of the Succession*, *A Letter of a Gentleman to his Friend*, shewing that the Bishops are not to be Judges, &c. *Dialogue between Tutor and Pupil*; And these Pamphlets, which the Dr. hath there shew'd to be Calculated, and fitted against the True English Government, and to be Impious, and Treasonable Pieces, he represents as written only in Opposition to the *Popish Interest*. How (saith he) comes the History of the Succession to be an *Impious and Treasonable Book*? Why, I'll tell him

(II) True and Exact History of the Succession. p. 2.

in the words of Dr. (II) Br. It is an *Impious Book* for falsifying such Ancient Historians as *William of Malmsbury*, *Henry of Huntington*, *Simeon Dunelm*, *Ailredus*, *Abbas Rivalensis*, and others, whose Words, if he had faithfully cited them, would have been of no use to him; for often in the Middle of the Sentences, and of the Records which he hath cited, he hath left out such Words, and Matters, as would have ruined the Design of his History. He may see many Instances of this Charge in the Parallel at the End of the Doctors Book, who

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concludes thus; *These are some of his many wilfull mistakes, and indeed there is scarce one Instance in the Pamphlet, that is not either falsely cited, or falsely applyed.* I think it is plain Knavery, and Impiety thus to falsifie and wrest good Authors, and that it is proper *English* to call all those Impious Books, which so pervert the Truth. This Dr. Br. hath been a very Troublesome Man to Impious Falsifiers of Ancient Historians, and Records; and as one upon reading the Title Page of his Book against Mr. Petit, said, *If this Charge be made good, Mr. Petit may be ashamed to walk the Streets:* So say I, if the words I have cited out of his Answer to the *Brief History of the Succession* be true, the Book is Impious, and the Author a Knave. But it is Mr. J's Interest, that the Perverters and Wresters of Good Authors may not incur such severe Censures, for however he hath (II) declared, *that he hath been as Careful in his Citations, as ever he was in telling Money, and that he is ready to make them Good:* Yet I have made it appear, That tho his Money is right, as to the *Tale*, yet it is deficient in the *Intrinsic*, often wanting Purity, and Weight.

(II) Preface p. 29.

But secondly, It is a Treasonable Book, because it asserts, *That the Descent of the Crown doth not purge all Defects whatsoever, p. 17.* And because p. 6, & 7. he manifestly Favours Popular Elections of Princes, and the Deposition of them for the Breach of their Coronation Oaths, although he could not but know, That a King hath all the Rights of Sovereignty without Coronation, and that it is not necessary, though it be expedient for his own Honour, and the Peoples Satisfaction,

(†) Calvins Case, Cokes Reports part 7.

faction, that he should be Crown'd. The Kings of England are Compleatly and Absolutely Kings before Coronation; and many of them, as *Henry the 6th*, have lived many years uncrowned; and others of them, as *Henry the 3d.* and *Richard the 1st.* were twice Crowned; as we read of *David*, that he was twice anointed by the People. But there are Hereticks among Lawyers, as well as Divines, and they will wrest the Laws, as the other do the Scriptures to their own Damnation: And truly this Doctrine of Deposing Kings, makes the King of England a Subject, and the Three Estates his Sovereign. And it is a Treasonable Doctrine in the same sense that the Act of Uniformity declares the Position of taking up Arms by the Kings Authority against his Person, a Traiterous Position, because it tends to Treason: And if a man should write a Book to prove it, it would be a Treasonable or Traiterous Book.

For the same Reason the Book, of which he saith my Lord *Hollis* is the Author, is an *Impious*, and *Treasonable Book*; *Impious*, because it abounds with Falsifications of Records, as the Authors of the *Rights of the Bishops*, and the *Grand Question* have proved; and *Treasonable*, because it asserts this Traiterous Position, that *the King is one of the three Estates*. The belief of this very Position, made Mr. *Baxter*, (as he himself declares) a *Rebel*, and I question not, but it made thousands more besides him; and never did man disgrace the Memory of a Peer more, than *Julian* hath done that of my Lord, in reporting him to be the Author of the Book: For he being a man Learned in the Laws, could not assert this Position but against his Conscience, and with an Ill Intent, which makes Mr. *J.* answerable to

to the Heir, for the Scandal he hath fixed upon his dead Father, who is not able to Justifie himself. The *Dialogue between the Tutor and Pupil*, is also a Wicked and Treasonable Piece, because it misrepresents the *English Government*, as if there were a Reciprocal Contract betwixt the King, and the People, and as if the Parliament ought, whether or no the King pleased, to sit, till all Grievances were redressed, and Petitions answered, contrary to the standing Maxim of the *English Government*, *Rex est Principium, Caput, & finis, Parliamenti*.

He also censures the Doctor for saying, That the *Brief History of the Succession* was but a New Dress of *Dolemans Title* to the Crown; If (saith he) he had read the *Ancient Historians of England* instead of *Dissenters Sayings*, he would likewise have found it possible to write an *History of the Succession* without borrowing from *Doleman*. But the possibility of the Thing is another matter; the Doctor asserted, that it was *Doleman* all over, *Doleman* in a New Dress, and whether it is not true, he refers himself to the *True and Exact History of the Succession*, and to the *Apostate Protestant*, where it is shewn, not only how much that Author, but Mr. H. too, if they be not the same Man, have Trucked, and Traded with the Jesuit, as much as the *Collection of Speeches*, &c. the *Treatise of the Broken Succession*, or *Bradshaw himself* ever did.

I refer him also to the *Apostat Protestant* for an Answer to his childish Reflection upon the Dr. about the *Dissenters Sayings*, there he may see how well versed the Doctor is in the Fanatical Originals, how his Sermon was made before the first of those Books was printed;

printed ; and I will further assure him, that if he please to come to the Doctors Study, he shall find set in an odd Corner many of the Famous, both Ancient and Modern Fanatical Treatises : There he shall see *Junius Brutus*, *Lex Rex*, *Prynns* Sovereign Power of Parliaments, *Naphthali*, *Justi Populi Vindicatum*, *Milsons Apology*, *Plato Redivivus*, with very many others, and *Julian the Apostate* among the rest.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Wherein are further considered the Reasons for Passive Obedience, or Non-Resistance; and wherein it is shewn, that Resistance would be a Greater Mischief, than Passive Obedience.

I Have shewed in the Precedent Chapter, how the Common Laws of Sovereignty, and more particularly the Laws Imperial of this Realm, and the Doctrine of the Church of England, do condemn all Resistance, and Force against the Sovereign; and I think it will not be Superfluous to my Design in this Undertaking, to weigh and consider a little further, the Reasons, which the Acts, and Authors above cited assign for this Doctrine; and the most General, and that which comprehends all the rest, is this, T. That the Sovereign hath neither Superior, nor Equal upon Earth, but is next unto God, whose Anointed and Vicegerent he is.

By the Sovereign must be always understood the Real, and Compleat Sovereign, because there are many seeming Sovereigns, which are not really Such. As for Example, The Kings of Sparta exercised the Sovereign Power, but they were not Real Sovereigns, because they were accountable for their Mis-government to the Ephori, who were chosen for that purpose by the People. And therefore neither the Kings, who were Subject to the Ephori, Sovereign.

phori, nor the *Ephori*, who were appointed by the People, but the People themselves was the real Sovereign next under God: The Kings had only the Exercise of the Sovereign Power, but not the Sovereign Power it self, that was Radically, and Originally in the People, and derivatively in the Kings, who were no more than Ministers, and Trustees of the People, whom they could call to an Account by Judges of their own Appointment.

So in the Government of *Venice*, though there be but one Duke, yet because the Supream Power is not invested in him but in the *Senate*, that State is not really Monarchical, but Aristocratical; and the Duke is not a Real, but only a Titular, or Umbratical Sovereign, the very Creature of the Senate, which is his Superior, and the true Sovereign next under God.

So in the Cantons of *Switzerland*, though the Administration of the Government be in the Magistrates, and so make it look like an *Aristocracy*, yet in reality it is a *Democracy*, because they derive their Power from the People, and are to give an Account of the Exercise of it to them, or those whom they appoint.

On the other hand, in the *English* Government, though the House of Commons bears the Shew of a Democracy, and the Peers look like an Aristocracy among us, yet our Government is a perfect Monarchy, because the Supream Power is, (as I have proved) neither in the one, nor in the other, nor in both together, but solely in the Person of the King.

I was the more willing to make this Observation, that when I speak of Sovereign Princes, I may not be maliciously traduced, as if I spoke of them
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exclusively of other Sovereigns, as if Monarchy were of Sole Divine Right. For want of this Distinction other Writers have had this invidious Imputation laid upon them; But this Reason of not Resisting the Sovereign, because he is Gods Vicegerent, and only ~~the~~ Subject to him, is a Common Reason of Passive Obedience to all Sovereigns, as well, as unto Kings, and unto Kings, as well as unto any other Sovereigns.

The forecited Acts, and Authors, render no other Reason but this, which indeed is virtually many other Reasons; for if the Government of Men, as well as of Angels, be from God, then it must follow, *First*, That upon whomsoever God is understood to bestow the Sovereign Authority, he must also be understood to bestow upon him all the *Jura Majestatis*, or Essential Rights of Sovereignty, according to that Maxim, *Qui dat esse, dat & omnia pertinentia ad esse*; He that gives the Essence, gives also the Properties belonging to the Essence. Wherefore as an Architect, who makes a Piece of Timber a Cube, or a Sphere, gives it all the Properties of a Cube, or a Sphere: So God, when he makes any Man a Sovereign, he gives him all the Essential Rights of Sovereignty, one of which is to be free from Resistance, or Forcible Repulse; For if any man, or number of men under him, had lawful Power to take up Defensive Arms, or use Defensive Force against the Sovereign, and his Forces, he could not for this Reason be Sovereign, because he would be Subject unto a *Controllable* Power. For according to this Supposition, his Subjects would have a Power of Judging of his Actions, whether they were Just, or Injurious, Lawful, or Unlawful, and when they might make a War Defensive, and when not, which

is in effect to destroy Sovereignty, and make the *Sovereign* inferior to the People: And therefore to cut off all pretences of Resistance in the *English* Government, the Three Estates (as I have proved before) have declared against all Defensive, as well as Offensive War, it being impossible for the Sovereignty to consist with the *Liberty of that Pretense*: Just as among the *Romans* it was inconsistent with the Sovereign Unaccountable Power, which the Masters by Law had over the Slaves, for them to have a Liberty of Rising up against them, under the pretence of Self-defence.

In all Sovereign Governments Subjects must be Slaves as to this particular; they must trust their Lives, and Liberties with their Sovereign, and therefore (+) *Grotius*, after *St.*

(+) *Quod dicitur subjectionem dominis debere etiam duris, idem ad reges quoque referendum, nam quod sequitur ei fundamento superstructum, non minus subditorum, quam servorum officium est. De Jure, l. i. c. 4, 6.*

(II) *Quod autem dicitur de domino, hoc intelligite de potestatibus & regibus & omnibus culminibus hujus seculi, aliquando enim potestates bonæ sunt & timent Deum, aliquando non timent Deum. Julianus extitit infidelis Imperator, necne extitit*

Apostata, Iniquus, Idololatra, milites Christiani servierunt Imperatori infideli, &c. In Pl. 124: Vid. Sam. Bochart. Ep. ad D. Morley. p. 77, 78, 79.

August. applies that place in 1 *Per. 2. 19.* which concerns the Passive Behaviour of Servants unto their Masters under the *Roman* Government, unto all Subjects: *Servants, be Subject to your Masters with all Fear, not only to the Good, and Gentle, but also to the Froward; for this is thankworthy, or acceptable to God: If a Man for Conscience-sake towards God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what Glory is it, if when you are buffeted for your Faults, ye shall take it patiently? But if when you do well, and suffer for it, this is acceptable with God.*

For

Passive Obedience Defended. 243

For even hereunto were ye called, because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an Example, that we should follow his Steps. For Real and Compleat Sovereigns, whether Arbitrary, or Limited, can ly under nothing but Moral Restraint, and Obligations not to Injure their Subjects, for if they

were under the (†) Coaction of another Power, or under Legal Perils, or Penalties, they could

(†) Sir Orl. Bridg-
mans Speech to the Re-
gicides, p. 13, 14.

not be Real, and Compleat Sovereigns : And therefore our Old Lawyer *Bracton*, who so often declares the King to be next unto God, doth also declare, That when he acts Illegally, not as Gods Minister, but as the Minister of the

Devil, as our (||) Author well observes, yet he is not to be con-

(||) P. 84.

travened, or resisted. *Locus erit supplicationi, quod [Rex] factum suum corrigat, & emendet; quod quidem si non fecerit, satis sufficit ei ad pœnam, quod Dominum expectet ultorem. Nemo quidem de factis suis presumat disputare, multo fortius contra factum suum venire, l. 2. c. 7.* If the Reader please to consult that

Chapter, he will find by many Expressions, that the King hath no other, but a Moral Obligation to observe the Laws. *Sic & beata Dei genitrix virgo Maria, quæ singulari privilegio supra Legem fuit, pro ostendendo tamen humilitatis exemplo legalibus subdi non refugit institutis:* But then if he will be a Tyrant, and act Illegally, it is sufficient for his Punishment, that he hath God for his Avenger; for no Man must dispute against what he doth, much less oppose, or resist it. The King is bound in Justice, and Equity, and for Example sake to observe his Laws; but if he will lay aside all Conscience, and the Fear of God his only Superior, the Rights

(11) *Nec prætereundum, quod Samuel iussus Israelitis jus regium edisserere, 1 Sam. 8, 9. Hoc (inquit) est juris regii, qui regnabit super vos. Filios vestros tollet, & imponet curribus suis, &c. Ait hæc esse juris regii, non quod coram Deo iusta sint, nec enim David Uria uxorem, nec Achab Nabato vineam eripere potuerunt sine crimine, sed quia hujusmodi scelera reges tam impune perpetrant, quam si essent maxime licita, idè additur populum, ita oppressum Deum imploraturum, quia contra vim regis nulla sunt humana remedia. Sam. Bochart Ep. p. 87.*

of Sovereignty secure the (11) Tyrant as well, as the Good King, from Resistance. — *Si autem Princeps, vel Rex, vel alius, qui superiorem non habuerit, nisi dominum, contra ipsum non habebitur remedium per assisam, immo tantum locus erit supplicationi, ut factum suum corrigat, & emendet, quod si non fecerit, sufficiet ei pro pana, quod Dominum expectet ultorem. If it be the King, or any other [Duke, &c.] who hath no Superior, but God, that shall [illegally disseize] there shall be no Remedy against him by Assize, only there shall be place for Petition, that he would correct, or amend, what he hath done amiss; which if he refuse to do, it is sufficient for his Punishment, that he may expect God for his Avenger.*

This Moral Obligation, which the King hath to observe the Laws, is further increased by his Coronation-Oath, as *Bracton* observes *l. 3. de Action. c. 9.* But then, as in the Oath of Allegiance, the People swear nothing to the King, but what they are bound to perform unsworn: So the King in his Coronation-Oath promises nothing to the People, but what in Justice, and Equity he is bound to perform unsworn. *Ad hoc* (saith *Bracton*) *electus, & creatus est, ut justitiam faciet universis, &c. and Separare aequum ab iniquo, &c.* But then if he will pervert

the great End, for which God made him King, if he will not Act, as it becomes Gods Vicar, if he will obstruct, or pervert the Laws, and govern Tyrannically, yet still there is left no Remedy to his Subjects By the Law, but *Moral Perswasion*, for the Laws Imperial of this Realm have declared him to be a (†) Free, Unconditional, and Independent Sovereign, and exempted him from all Co-action, and Force. Nay, to shew that the Kings of *England* were in this respect as perfect Sovereigns, as the *Cæsars*, he applies unto them those Memorable Sayings of *Valentinian the Younger*, and *Alexander Severus*;

(†) *It really is a greater thing than the Empire, for the Prince to submit to the Laws.* And (||) *There is nothing more proper for the Empire, than that the Emperor should live according to Law.* To which, if he pleased, he might have added that set down so often in the (*) Rescripts of *Severus*, and *Antoninus*; *Although we be loosed from the Laws, yet we live by the Laws.* Indeed our Kings differ from the *Cæsars* in this, ~~that~~ (as the same (†) *Bracton*, and (||) *Fortescue* long since observed) That they are limited in the Exercise of their Legislative Power, not being able to make, or repeal Laws without the consent of the Three Estates. But still, if they will turn Tyrants, neither fearing God, nor the Censures of Good Men,

(†) Sir Ortl. Bridg-
mans Speech, p. 12, 13,
14.

(†) *Majus Imperio est submittere legibus principatum.* Bract. l. 3. de Aq. c. 9. & l. 4. c. de Leg. & Const.

(||) *Nihil tam proprium est Imperii, quam legibus vivere.* Bract. ib. l. 3. c. de Test.

(*) *Instit. quibus modis Testam. infirm.* 8. *Secundum hoc Divi Severus & Antoninus sapissime rescripserunt, licet enim (inquiunt) legibus soluti sumus, at tamen legibus vivimus.*

(†) Lib. 1. c. 2.
De Laud. Leg. Ang. c. 9.

they are by the Law of the *English* Empire, as free from Punishment, Compulsion, or Resistance, as the *Cæsars* were.

2. But Secondly, The foresaid Generall Reason of not resisting the Sovereign because he is Gods Vice-gerent, doth imply that he hath all his Power from God. This is very Ancient Divinity, as appears from what *Daniel* said unto *Nebuchadnezzar*, c. 2. 37. *Thou O King, art a King of Kings, for the God of Heaven hath given thee a Kingdom, Power, and Strength, and Glory; and from what he said to his Grandson Belshazzar, c. 5. 18, 19. The Most High God gave Nebuchadnezzar thy Father a Kingdom, and Majesty, and Glory, and Honour, and for the Majesty that he gave him, all People, Nations, and Languages trembled, and feared before him: Whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive, whom he would he set up, and whom he would he pulled down.* Accordingly it is written of *Cyrus* the Heathen Emperor, *Isa. 45. 1. Thus saith the Lord to his Anointed to Cyrus, whose Right Hand I have holden to subdue Nations before him. And 2 Chron. 36. 23. Thus saith Cyrus King of Persia, all the Kingdoms of the Earth hath the Lord God given me. So Prov. 8. 15, 16. By me Kings Reign, and Princes decree Justice; by me Princes Rule, and Nobles, even all the Judges of the Earth. And God declared by Jeremy, c. 27. 5, 6. I have made the Earth, and have given it to whom it seemed meet unto me; and now I have given all these Lands into the hand of King Nebuchadnezzar my Servant.*

Now, if according to these Express Texts the Sovereign have all his Power from God, he must by consequence have the Power of the Sword from him,

him, as St. Paul particularly observes, *He beareth not the Sword in vain, for he is the Minister of God.* And if he have the Power of the Sword from him, it must needs follow, (||) That the People have no Right to bear it, neither for Offence, nor Defence or Resistance, without Commission from him. He may indeed abuse this, as well as any other Branch of his Power; he may bear the Sword not for the Defence, but for the Offence and Destruction of his Subjects, but if he do, they have no Authority to Resist him, they cannot without sinful Usurpation oppose their Swords to his; as it was written by the Apostle in the time of a (†) Wicked Tyrant, *He that resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation.* And how can a Man be guiltless that draws and uses his Sword, without Authority from him to whom the *jus gladii* belongs? much more if he useth it against him, who only hath the Authority of the Sword. This very

(||) *Præterea cum in regno gladii jus nulli competat, præterquam ipsi regi, aut iis, quibus a rege id concessum est; peto, quo jure quis audeat in summum animadvertere, utrum jure concesso, an usurpato? Si concesso dixerit, rursus petam a quo concesso? Utrum a principe vel ab aliquo alio præter principem? Si a principe respondeat, hoc ipso erit ridiculus, quia non est credibile principem ulli indulgere jus gladio in seipsum utendi.* — — — *Quantumcumque in alium transferat princeps potestatem semper manet Superior.* Sam Bochart. Ep. p. 90, 91.

(†) *Famè nequius hæc dici putet de bonis duntaxat regibus, cogitandum est Petrum, & Paulum vel sub Claudio, vel sub Nerone scripsisse, quorum illè vecors*

fuit, hic monstrum hominis, quibus tamen Christianos jubent esse subditos, non solum metu pænæ, sed & ob conscientiam, & propter Deum. Nec multo meliorem fuisse Tiberium, cui Christus reddi voluit ea, quæ erant Cæsaris. Ib. p. 52.

Consideration made *Grotius* condemn all violent defence against unjust Force from Publick Authority, *Contra vim injustissimam sed publico nomine illatam. De Imp. c. 3. n. 6.*

Our Blessed Saviour never intended to diminish, or destroy the Rights of Sovereignty, but on the contrary was very tender of them, commanding his Disciples to *render unto Caesar the things that were Caesars*, and this was said by him with respect to *Tiberius*, who was a Man excessive in Cruelty, Drunkenness, and Lust. It was said indeed upon the account of paying Tribute, but holds as well to all the Rights of Sovereignty, and particularly as to this of being the Master of the Sword; and therefore when *St. Peter* drew his Sword in his Masters Defence against the Officers of the Cruel *Sanhedrim*, he sharply rebuked him, saying, *Put up thy Sword, for he that useth the Sword, shall perish by the Sword.* This very Text was ever understood by the Primitive Christians, as an absolute Prohibition to use any Violence against the Sovereign, and was applied by *Mauritius* the Commander of the *Thebean Legion*, when he charged his Souldiers in Christs Name, not to Resist under the Specious Pretext of Self-Defence.

And truly, if the *Christian Religion* had given a Right to the Professors of it to defend themselves, and it against the Illegal Violence of the Sovereign, it had not been a taking up of the Cross, but of the Sword, not *Evangelical*, as our Author speaks of Passive Obedience, but *Mahumetan*; and truly one who knew no more of the Gospel, than what he might learn of it out of *Julian*, would never imagine that Jesus had said, *If any man will come after me let him deny himself, and take up his Cross, and fol-*

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low me. And whosoever shall lose his Life for my sake and the Gospels, the same shall save it. And every one that forsaketh Houses, or Brethren, or Sisters, or Father, or Mother, or Wife, or Children, or Lands for my Names sake, shall receive an hundred fold, and shall inherit Everlasting Life & Or that his Beloved Disciple the Prophet of the New Testament had said of the Martyrs of the (†) Protestant Religion, *Here is the Patience, and Faith of the Saints; Here is the Patience of the Saints; Blessed are the Dead, or the Martyrs, that die in the Lord.* But the Author of *Julian*, it seems, will shew no Faith, nor Patience but in a Legal Persecution, he will not die a Martyr, but when the Laws are against him; but if his Sovereign attack him against Law, *i. e.* against the Laws which are made for the Defence of the Subject, he will be even with him, he will without Authority take up Defensive Arms against him contrary to the Laws which are made for the Defence and Honour of the Sovereign, and so commit as Damnable a Sin one way, as his Prince doth the other.

(†) Dr. Mores Apocalypsis Apocalypseos, c. 13. 10. c. 14. 12, 13.

This is plainly, as *Max. Tyrinus* speaks of Private Revenge, ἀντίδικεῖν, to do one Injury for another. His Sovereign injures him against the second, and he will therefore injure his Sovereign against the first Table of Civil Government. He will sin against the Laws Imperial, because his Prince sins against the Political. Well, let him do so at his Peril, ἐαυτῷ κείμενον in both Senses, he may be legally Hanged for it in this World, and (without Repentance) will be Damned for it in that which is to come.

But

But in the third place, The General Reason assigned for Not-resisting the Sovereign, because he is *Gods Vicegerent*, doth imply, That to resist him, is to resist God, who hath made him Sovereign, and set him above all Coercion, and Force. If the Nature of Sovereignty, and of a Crown Imperial did not require, that he should not be violently resisted, yet the Honour of God, whose Image, and Substitute he is, would require the Subject not to do so, lest he should seem to resist God. *The King* (saith

(†) C. 21.

(†) *Agapetus to Justinian the Emperor*) in regard of the Nature of his Body is of the same Mould with every Man, but in respect of the Eminency of his Dignity, he is like unto God, who is Lord over all, whose Image he beareth, and by whom he holdeth that Power which he hath over

(||) *De re Mil. l. 2. c. 5.* Men. And (||) *Vegetius* saith, That next after God, the Emperor is to be Honoured and Loved, because he is a Corporeal God.

I had made a small Collection of Testimonies to this purpose out of Christian Writers, to shew how the King is the Minister, and Image of God, but I have since found them all, with far many more in Archbishop Ubers Admirable Book Of the Power communicated by God to the Prince, To which I refer the Reader.

Hence it is that the Common Law of England doth also attribute unto the King the Divine Perfections. *Finch lib. 2. del Leg. c. 1.* as cited by Mr. *Sheringham*, *Royest le test del bien public immediate desonbs deiu*, &c. *The King is Head of the Commonwealth immediately under God, over all Persons, and in all Causes*: And therefore because he represents the Person

son of God, and bears his Image, the Law attributeth unto him a Similitudinary Manner, a Shadow of Divine Excellencies, namely, Sovereignty— Majesty— Infiniteness— Perpetuity— Perfection— Truth— Justice—. Now to assert that Sovereign Princes are the Vicegerents, and Images of God, is very agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, Thou shalt not revile the Gods, nor curse the Ruler of thy People; God standeth in the Congregation of the Mighty, he judgeth among the Gods, I have said ye are Gods, and all of you the Children of the most High; Accordingly saith Jesus, Joh. 10. 34. Is it not written in your Law [of Princes] I said ye are Gods: If he called them Gods, of whom the Word of God there speaks, say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified, thou Blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God. These Earthly (†)

Gods, these Vicegerents and Images of the Almighty Sovereign; these Anointed of the Lord must not be resisted by those whom God hath subjected unto them. If they do wrong, if they tyrannize it over their Subjects, he will punish them, and turn their Hearts, if he see fit. But their Subjects must not defend themselves by Violence against him, they must not take

(†) Addo haud dubie regibus primario, & precipue convenire, quod Scriptura magistratibus indulget Deorum nomen, ut Exod. 21. 6. 22. 18. 1 Sam. 2. 25. Pf. 82. 6. proinde Solomon Pf. 45. quod quidem ad Christum, refert Apostolus, Solomonis typo adumbratum, sed sensus typicus literalem non excludit, imò supponit. Itaq; etiam Solomon suo modo fuit Deus, nempe

ut rectè Diotogenes apud Stovæum, Rex cum Imperium habeat nulli obnoxium, & sit ipse viva lex Dei instar est inter homines, & Elephantus ejusdem sectæ. Quod Deo quidem inest, inest & regi, ut sibi ipse imperet, unde vocatur ἀυταρχη, nulli autem subjiçatur. Proinde in suum regem quisquis insurgit est Gigas θρόμαχ &c. Sam. Bochart. Ep. p. 84, 85.

up Defensive Arms against them, because they are in Gods stead, for whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God. In that place : ἀντιστάμεν is opposed to ὑποτάσσομεν to signifie, that Resistance is inconsistent with Subjection, or to shew that a Subject to a perfect Sovereign ought not to resist.

Thus have I branched the General Reason for Non-resistance into three, and every one of them is common to the Regulated or Limited, as well as the Arbitrary Sovereign; and I know not what can be replied to them, but either to deny, that the Sovereign is Gods Vicegerent, and doth ~~not~~ derive his Authority from him, or else to assert that Self-Defence is enjoined by the Law of Nature. But to deny the Former will be to deny the Bible, and contradict the Doctrine and Practise of the Primitive Christians, the Acts of Parliament, Book of Homilies, and the Li-

(H) Thy chosen Servant — Our King and Governour, that he knowing, whose Minister he is —

— And that we, and all his Subjects duly considering, whose Authority he hath —

turgy, especially in the (II) Collect of the Communion-Service for the King, and therefore I will suppose, that my Brother J. dare not do it; and before he asserts the Latter, I desire him to consult *Dr. Falkners Christian Loyalty*, a Book, which ought to be read by every English Subject.

1789. 224. &c.

I shewed him before out of the *Second Part of the Homily of Obedience*, That Subjects are not in any Case to Resist, or stand against the Sovereign, although he be Wicked, or a Wrong-Doer; And now I will shew that the Principle, into which I have resolved it, is plainly taught in the *First*. There our Late Sovereign King

Passive Obedience Defended. 253

King James is called the Gift of God, there the Authority of Kings, their making of Laws, Judgement, and Offices are said to be the Ordinances not of Man, but of God. This is also asserted by Old (†) Chancellor Fortescue, in these words; All Laws published by Men have also their Authority from God, for as the

(†) De laudibus Legum Angliæ c. 3.

Apostle saith, All Power is from the Lord God, wherefore the Laws that are made by Man, which thereunto have received Power from the Lord, are also Ordained of God; And if all Laws of Men, be the Laws, and Ordinances of God, then I suppose the Common, and Statute-Laws of every Empire, which absolutely forbid the Subject to resist the Sovereign are so too; and I desire to know, whether it can be safe for a Christian to be guilty of the Breach of those Laws.

But to return to the Homily, it further teacheth us, That the High Powers, are set in Authority by God, that they are Gods Lieutenants, Gods Presidents, Gods Officers, Gods Commissioners, Gods Judges ordained of God himself. And if these Presidents, and Lieutenants of God will transgress the Bounds within which they ought to act, we must not forcibly resist, or repulse them, but give place to their Wrath, and suffer according to the Will of God, committing our Souls to him in well-doing, as unto a Faithful Creator, to him that judgeth righteously. Like the Masters under the Roman Government, they are bound to do that which is Just, and Equal, and Legal unto their Subjects, as knowing they have a Master in Heaven; but if they forget their Duty to their Master to whom alone they are accountable; their Subjects, like the Servants, from whom the Law took

took all Power of violent Resistance, must only withstand them with Supplications, and Tears. This is all the Gospel allows, or could indeed in Reason allow, because there must somewhere be fixed, and acknowledged such a Sovereign Authority, which none have Power to resist, or against which none have Power of taking Arms; but had the Gospel allowed Resistance against the Sovereign, it had unhinged all Government by putting the Sword into private Mens Hands. *This Pra-*

cept (saith (†) Grotius) of putting up the Sword belongeth to all Christians, who are called unto punish-

ment upon the Account of Religion; for it is the Pleasure of God, when that necessity lyes upon us, that we should testifie our Patience, and commit our Souls unto our Creator; and what can be more just than that we should lay down our Lives for his Honour from whom we received them? This St. Pet. hath taught us in his Masters Name Ep. I. c. 4. 16, 19. — And if it be once admitted (saith he) that private men, when they are injured by the Magistrate, may forcibly resist him, all places would be full of Tumults, and there would be no Force, or Authority of Laws, and Judicatures, because all men are apt to favour themselves. Wherefore Reason compels us to confess, that Oppression is to be endured, lest too much Liberty follow upon the contrary, and the Examples of the Ancient Christians teach us, That any Violence is to be endured, which the Supream Power lays upon us upon the account of our Religion: For they are in a great Error, who think, that the Christians before the time of Constantine abstained from Resistance, because they wanted sufficient Strength. And if they did not abstain for that reason before the time of Constantine, I appeal to our Author, Whe-
ther

ther they did abstain for that reason after his time ; and what Account he will give to God, or Man, for slandering the Christian Subjects of (II) Julian, in saying, *What would you have a few defenceless Christians do, ; have you never heard a West-Country-Man say, Chud eat more Cheese if chad it.*

(II) Ita sub Juliano licet impio Apostata merebant Christiani milites nec quisquam illi vim fecit, quo nihil fuisset facilius, cum fere totum exercitum ex Christianis constituisse in

But to return from this digression unto (†) Grotius ; In his latter and wiser years he approved of the University of Oxforde's Determination against *Paræus* upon the Romans, *Subditos nullo modo, &c. That Subjects ought by no means to (II) resist their Sovereign by force, nor ought they to take either Offensive or Defensive Arms against him for the Cause of Religion, or any other whatsoever.* Here is the University of Oxon teaching the very Doctrine of the Bow-string, and Grotius approving of it ; and furthermore affirming, That if *Paræus*, or Mr. J's Exceptions were admitted against St. Paul, That no Government could be any longer safe, than while those who have such Sentiments, want Strength.

ob deæ reverentiam πάντες ἀπέχοντο πόντος θίας ab omni vi omnes abstinebant. Pausan. Exot. Strab. l. 9. lb. p. 41.

(†) *Vot. pro pace. ad Act 16. vid. Dr. Falk. p. 373.*

(II) *Quinta lex est, Prov. 30. 31.*

מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹקִים עִמּוֹ
Rex in quem nemo insurgit, i.e. in quem subditorum nemo debet insurgere. Alioquin enim multi insurgunt, sed id faciunt præter jus et fas, ut Rex hic vocatur

אֱלֹקִים
Alkum, quia in eum nemo insurgit. Ita paladem alibi observo fuisse vocatam à Phœnicibus Ela alkuma Deam inquam nemo insurgit, et Exotia urbem illi sacram Græcâ flexione Alalcomenas quæ parva cum esset et in plano extructa, semper tamen ἀνέστηντα intacta et inviolata mansit, quia

It

It was upon this Principle, that the Prophets, and other Saints in great numbers, patiently suffered under the Idolatrous Kings of *Israel*, who, as Mr. J. might have remembred, persecuted against Law. And in like manner our blessed Saviour, who had so great a regard for Government, and for the Good of Mankind, for which Government was ordain'd, absolutely forbids Subjects to resist their Sovereign, and because he foresaw, that the pretence of Religion, would of all others be the most Popular, and Specious, therefore took he such Care to have himself proposed for an Example of Patience, and Suffering unto his Disciples, and to assure them, that if they suffered with him, they should also Reign with him. Indeed there is some inconvenience in the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, or Non-resistance, but it is an Inconvenience, which cannot be prevented, unless we should remove the Center upon which Government is fixed; and admit the Inconvenience of Resisting the Sovereign,

which would be (†) ten times worse than it. For if the For-

(†) *Cum probaverim hactenus summum principem esse auctoritativum, & a solo Deo pendere, solum hoc addo promantissimè, quod si liceret in regem ideo insurgere, quia malus est, et potestate sua abutitur, Non tamen id expedire, & populo esse consultius ut ab iis remediis abstineat, quæ plerumq; morbo ipso pejora sunt, quibusq; adeo vulnus exasperatur, potius quam sanatur. Ea mala toleranda sunt, quæ sine magnâ pernicië non possunt emendari. — præstat unius hominis scelera esse impunita, quam innumeros insontes certo exitio exponere, quod ab illis ferè fit, qui in reges quid moluntur. Neq; enim expectandum est, ut citati iudicio se sistant, et plebeiorum instar unius aut alterius victoris Imperio se submittant, quin copias conscribi oportet, et multorum sæpe præliorum alia subeundæ, antequam possint cogi in ordinem. Unde magna strages sequitur et provinciarum devastatio, quod Britannia vestra vel me tacente clamat. Itaq; multo satius est Dei iudicio rem committere, et converti ad preces, & lachrymas, quæ vera Christianorum arma sunt, quam ad ea remedia confugere quæ sunt æquo violentiora. Sam. Bochart.*

lib. 140, 141.

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mer make a Land obnoxious now, and then unto a Tyrant; the Latter would make it perpetually obnoxious to the Rage, and Fury of the deluded Rabble, who in Riots, Tumults, and Insurrections (for which they would never want Pretences, were Resistance in any case allowed) are able to do more mischief in a Week, than ever any Tyrant yet did in a Year. Indeed the Strokes of a Tyrant, like those of Thunder, make a great Noise, and all places ring with it, and it puts the World in great affright; but yet, ^{let} alone, and unresisted, a Tyrant cannot spill so much Blood, especially in a Limited Empire, as would be shed by Resistance in a Defensive War; for the Rage of the worst of Tyrants generally wrecks it self upon particular persons, or parties of Men; but in Civil War, which is worse than any Tyranny, all must suffer without distinction, and however it may be called Defensive, and at first be so designed, yet it will certainly degenerate into Offensive; and Rapin, Bloodshed, and Devastations will be the ordinary Concomitants thereof. The late Rebellion among us was called by the Raisers of it, and I believe verily intended by some of them, for a War merely Defensive, but it soon proved Offensive, the Managers of it being forced in their own defence to seek Advantages to set upon the King, as he did to set upon them. Indeed when the Defensive Party is very much the stronger, then the War, if the Defenders please, may be merely Defensive, but when the Party Offensive is as strong or stronger than they, then they cannot defend themselves without taking the Advantage of Offence. Besides, if we consider the Passions of Men set in Military Opposition one against another, the Notion of a Defensive War, like many Notions in

Geometry, though it may be true in the Theory, yet it will be impossible in the Practice; and therefore I cannot but admire the Wisdom, as well, as the Goodness of God, in forbidding us to Resist, or Defend our selves by Force against the Sovereign, and his Forces, because Defence doth so naturally degenerate into Offence.

These things considered, I desire Mr. J. the fierce, and almost blasphemous Opposer of Passive Obedience, to consider, Whether (as

(†) Pref. p. 11.

he saith) *He (†) hath honestly pursued the End of our Saviours Com-*

ming into the World, which was not to destroy mens Lives, but to save them. For had our Saviour allowed Subjects, under the pretence of defending themselves, and their Religion, to resist their Sovereign, he had come indeed to destroy Mens Lives; and, as he said in another sense, *Not to send Peace on Earth, but a Sword*: He had then indeed set Subjects at variance against their Sovereign, and made the World for Rebels, the worst of *Banditi*, by the Gospel, which had then been a Doctrine of War, and not of Peace. But this was not consistent with his Infinite Wisdom, and Goodness, and the Care which he had for Government, and the Peace, and Wellfare of Mankind. Though Tyranny be ill, yet he knew Resistance was worse, and therefore he hath commanded us to lay down our Lives for our Religion, but not to take up the Sword in defence of it, contrary to the *Imperial Law*. For all that draw, or use the Sword, without Authority from the Sovereign, whose right it is to bear it, he hath left obnoxious to the Sword of Justice, and to incur the Punishment of death; *Put up thy Sword into its place* (saith he to Peter) *for all that take the Sword, shall per-*

with the Sword. Wherefore let Mr. J. talk never so much against a Popish Successor, and let him have what Characters men please to give him; nay let them suppose him to be a Complicate Tyrant, and, as Gregory saith of Julian, to be Pharaoh, Achab, Hierobom, and Nebuchadnezzar all in one; nay let the Spirit of Galerius, Maximin, and Maxentius come upon him, yet I am sure it will cost fewer Lives, and less Desolation, to let him alone, than to resist him; but if it would not, I had rather die a Martyr, than a Rebel; this is my Resolution by the Grace of God; I can be content to be barbarously murdered, I know to whom I must pay my Passive Obedience, to my God, and to my King; the Laws of God, and the Imperial Laws of the Land require it of me; For (†) P. 80.

though (†) God approves our Religion, and would have all the World to embrace it, and hold it fast, yet he doth not approve of Resistance, that's no part of Christian Liberty, and he would have none embrace that. And though (II) Ibid.

(II) Protestantcy is so far from being Criminal by the Laws of our Country, that it is Death to turn Papist, as it was to turn Idolater among the Jews, yet Passive Obedience is part of the Established Protestant Religion, as it was of the Jewish, and the Laws of our Country (God be praised for it) make it Capital to resist.

Therefore I resolve by Gods Assistance neither to turn Papist, nor Resist; But if I cannot escape, I will suffer according to the Gospel and the Church of England; and Mr. J. hath the Liberty to despise the Gospel, and the Church, and to resist his supposed Tyrant, if he will. He may preach and practise Resistance, but I am resolved to preach, and practise Passive Obedience after the Example of the Jewish

Prophets and Martyrs, who suffered against Law; and in my most Melancholy Prospect of things, I can comfort my self with the hopes of a Reward for dying at a Stake, which he shall never have for dying in the Field.

But for fear I should move the Indignation of Mr. J. too much, by shewing the utter Inconveniences of *Resisting*, and how it is a Remedy against Tyranny, worse than the Disease, I will endeavour to temper him with a few Words out of his *next best Book to the Bible*, in the First Part of the Homily against Disobedience. *What shall Subjects do then? Shall they obey Valiant, Stout, Wise, and Good Princes, and Contemn, Disobey, and Rebel, against Children being their Princes, or against Indiscreet, and Evil Governours? God forbid.* For first, *What a Perillous thing were it to commit unto the Subjects the Judgment, which Prince is Wise, and Godly, and his Government Good, and which is otherwise, as though the Foot must judge of the Head; an Enterprise very hainous, and must needs breed Rebellion: For who else be they, that are most inclined to Rebellion, but such Haughry Spirits, from whom springeth such foul ruin of Realms? Is not Rebellion the greatest of all Mischiefs? And who are most ready to the greatest Mischiefs, but the worst Men? — What an unworthy matter were it then to make the Naughtiest Subjects, and most inclined to Rebellion, and all Evil, Judges over the Princes, over the Government, and over their Counsellors to determine, which of them be Good, and Tolerable, and which be Evil, and so Intolerable, that they must needs be removed by Rebels, being ever ready, as the Naughtiest Subjects soonest to Rebel —* But whereas indeed a Rebel is worse than the worst Prince, and Rebellion worse than the worst Government of the

the worst Prince that hitherto hath been, *both Rebels are unmeet Ministers*, and Rebellion an unfit, and unwholesome Medicine to reform any small Lacks in a Prince, or to cure any little Grief in a Government, such lewd Remedies being far worse, than any other Maladies, and Disorders, that can be in the Body of a Commonwealth.

I appeal to the Late Rebellion, which the Rebels called a *Defensive War* to verifie this Doctrine; for there was more Blood shed in it in one Battel, than in all the Tyrannies and Persecutions of the Nation since the Conquest; and in the two Kingdoms there hath been more Christian Blood shed in rebellions since the Reformation by pretended Undertakers of Defensive War, than throughout the whole Roman Empire in nine of the first ten Famous Persecutions. There is scarce any other Kingdom in the World, wherein it may not be shewed by woful example, how disadvantageous, and prejudicial it would be to the Commonwealth, that it should be Lawful for the People to take up Arms for Defence of their Liberties, and Religion: Civil Wars would be the constant Effect of such an Exorbitant Power, because there would never want Turbulent and Ambitious Spirits, to make the Populace Jealous of their Sovereign, and by consequence ready upon the first Alarm to rise up in defence of their Rights.

Had the People of this, and the Neighbouring Nation had such a Power of Resistance granted unto them, this Island had been made a Theater of War almost ever since his Majesties Happy Restauration; nay, in all appearance, there had been more Blood shed in the Land these 4 last years of our Fears and Jealousies, than can without Resistance be shed in a Persecution of 20 years long: Nay, let us ima-

gine a Popish Prince as bigotted in Religion, and as sanguinary in his Temper, as may be, now Reigning over us, yet he could not likely cause so much Ruin, Bloodshed, and Desolation in his whole Reign, as a War between him and his Resisting Subjects would cause in one Year. Wherefore it is plain, that it is the Interest even of the People themselves, that so great a Power should be in the Sovereign, that none should withstand him, or rise up against him, and that nothing can be more pernicious to the Commonwealth in any Government, than that the Subjects should have a Power of taking up Arms to defend their Liberties, and Religion.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Wherein is shewed, That notwithstanding this Doctrine of Non-resistance or Passive Obedience, we are Secure enough of our Lives, Properties, and Religion.

ALL that I have hitherto said of Passive Obedience, hath been to satisfy the Reasons of the Thinking, and Sober Part of Men, and now I proceed to propose some Considerations, which may serve as a sufficient Answer to that Hasty Question, which timourous and suspicious men are apt to make against this Doctrine, saying, *Where then is our Security?* How can we be Safe from the utmost Tyranny, and Oppression of our Sovereign, if we may not be allowed to Resist? Q.

To which I answer, That I have already shewn, that the Remedy of Resistance is as bad, or worse than the Disease of Tyranny and Persecution; and I furthermore add, that upon supposition there were some Cases allowed, wherein we might take up Defensive Arms against the Sovereign, what Security could the Sovereign have upon desisting from Tyranny and Persecution, that this Defensive Army would lay down their Arms? Might they not say, that he was not to be trusted, having once broke his Coronation-Oath, and that it was necessary for them to keep up in Arms to prevent a second Persecution? Nay, might they not serve him, as the A.

Army served our Late Blessed Sovereign, and if they went about to do so, who durst question them for what they did? Perhaps you will reply, that another Army, is to be raised to reduce this to their former Obedience: But how difficult would it be for an Oppressed Prince, and People to raise an Army against another Conquering Army; or if they did, what dismal Consequences, far worse than any Tyranny, would follow thereupon? Besides the Ruines, and Devastations during the War, Slavery, and Arbitrary Government would naturally be the Event of it: For if the first Army prevailed, then the Injured Prince, as well as the People, whom they pretended to defend, must be Subject to their Discretion; but if the King, and his new Army raised to reduce them prevailed, what then will become of our Liberties and Religion, which the first Army rose up to defend?

— But perhaps you will object, That you would have this Defensive Army under the Conduct of sworn Trustees for the People; That they should be Disbanded, as soon as they have reduced the Tyrannizing Prince. But who shall see that these Trustees shall perform their Trust? How can you be Secure they will not break their Oaths? Or if they be Faithful to their Trust, how can you be secure the Defensive Army will be disbanded by them? Remember what hapned between *Cromwells* Army, and the House. But still you will object, that to prevent these Inconveniences, you would have the Government in more Hands than one, you would not have one man only entrusted with it? Well, let it be so: Let us suppose that the Three Estates in Parliament were our Governours, yet I can object as strongly against this: Either they will agree together,

ther, or disagree. If they agree, how can you be secure they will not divide the Land among them, and in a short time govern us as Arbitrarily as the Senate of *Venice*, under which the People really are what we call Slaves. But if they disagree, as is most probable, having the Passions of Men, Ambition, Covetousness, and Emulations, then their Government will become uncertain, and odious, and the most popular amongst them will take an Opportunity to set up himself; and when he hath mastered his Companions, he must secure his Usurpation by Force, and then his Pleasure must be our Law.

All these Inconveniences would apparently attend the new Model for the Association to back the Exclusion of the next Heir. For either the Heads of it would agree, or disagree. If they continued to agree, then the preposterous Heir, after he was made King, and his People also, must be subject to their Discretion. But if they should disagree, as most probably they would, then as fast as they fell out among themselves, or grew discontented, their Security would oblige them to revolt unto the Secluded Heir, and help him to get possession of the Crown. And in what a Miserable Condition would this Nation be during such a Civil War, no Tyranny in all probability could be so Destructive; and whether the Popish Prince, or the Opposing Army at last prevailed, we must be subject to their Sword.

In a word, there neither is, nor can be any absolute Security either for the Sovereign against the Subjects, or for the Subjects against the Sovereign in any Government: And therefore in the second place, it may be a sufficient Answer to the Former Question, to shew, That we have all the Security
against

against the King, that the King hath against us, even all the Security, that any People in the World ever had, have, or ought to have.

For first, We have the Care and Providence of God for our Security, who is King of Kings, Lord of Lords, and the only Ruler of Princes: For as *Daniel* told *Nebuchadnezzar*, the most High ruleth in the Kingdoms of Men, and giveth it to whomsoever, he will. The Wellfare of the Publick is much more the Object of his Fatherly Care, than the Wellfare of private persons, and he delights to see the Nations of the Earth Happy, and will not let them be Afflicted and Oppressed with Tyrants, but when Tyranny is necessary, for their Punishment, or Cure. But much more is he concerned for his own Family, I mean, for any Nation, whose People are part of his Household, which is the Catholick Church. He delights to see them Happy, and were it not for their Sins, he would always set such Princes over them, as would be Nursing Fathers to them, and the Church. But when it is necessary for their Punishment, or Reformation, then he will suffer their Kings to turn Tyrants; and when he doth so, the People, like the People of *Israel*, must patiently suffer them, as they do other Judgments, and not rise up against them, lest they be found guilty of Rebellion against God.

On the other hand, when a sinful People turn from those Sins, by which they provoke God, he will set Just, and Merciful, and Valiant Princes over them, who shall Love them, and Protect them as their own Children; and this he can do both ways, either by taking away Good, or Bad Princes, or by turning of their Hearts, For the Hearts of Kings are in his Rule, and Governance, and

he doth dispose, and turn them, as seemeth best to his Godly Wisdom: According to what Solomon said, and perhaps upon his own Experience, That the Kings Heart is in the Hand of the Lord, as the Rivers of Water, he turneth it whithersoever he will.

Jealous, and Suspicious Men indeed may have a thousand Contrivances, and Phancied Demonstrations to prevent or remove Evil Princes; but when God shall see it fit to punish them that way, he will in a Moment baffle, and defeat them all. And on the other side, Princes may have a thousand Devices how to oppress, or enslave their People, but God, whose Instruments they are, can in a Moment overturn them, and their Devices, he can resist the Strength of the Strongest Leviathan, as he said unto Sennacherib; *I know thy Abode, and thy going out, and thy coming in, and thy Rage against me; and because thy Rage, and thy Tumult is come into mine Ears, therefore I will put my Hook in thy Nose, and my Bridle in thy Lips, and I will turn thee back by the way in which thou camest.*

Wherefore, as the Princes best Security against the People is the watchful Providence of God: So the same watchful Providence is the Peoples best Security against the Prince. The same God who stilleth the Noise of the Waves, and the Tumult of the People in defence of the King, doth likewise still the Thunder, and assuage the Fury of the King in defence of the People, and neither could be safe one from the other, unless God did Watch and Preside, and as it were pitch his Tent between them both.

Wherefore as it is the securest way for a Prince to have Peaceable, and Obedient Subjects to serve God, whose Vicegerent he is: So on the other hand

hand, the best Security the People can have for their Property, and Liberty against the Prince, is to obey God, who setteth up one King, and pulleth down another, and changeth their Hearts as he sees fit. I hope Mr. J. will not think me singular in this piece of Divinity, because it is taught by the Church *in the next best Book to the Bible*, to which he, and the Doctor have both subscribed, in *The first part of the Sermon against Rebellion.*

God (say the Holy Scriptures) maketh a Wicked Man to Reign for the Sins of the People. Again, God giveth a Prince in his Anger, meaning an Evil One, and taketh away a Prince in his Displeasure, meaning especially when he taketh away a Good Prince for the Sins of the People — God giveth Wisdom unto Princes, and maketh a wise, and good King to Reign over that People, whom he loveth, and who loveth him. — If therefore we will have a good Prince either to be given us, or to continue, let us by our Obedience to God, and to our Prince, move God thereunto. If we will have an Evil Prince, when God shall send such an one, taken away, and a Good in his place, Let us take away our Wickedness, which provoketh God to place such an one over us, and God will either displace him, or of an Evil Prince make him a Good Prince, so that we first will change our Evil into Good. For will you hear the Scriptures? The Heart of the Prince is in Gods Hand, which way soever it shall please him he turneth it. Thus say the Scriptures, Wherefore let us turn from

from our Sins unto the Lord with all our hearts, and he will turn the Heart of the Prince unto our Quiet and Wealth. Else for Subjects to deserve for their Sins to have an Evil Prince, and then to Rebel against him, were double, and treble evil by provoking God more to plague them. Nay, let us either deserve to have a good Prince, or let us patiently suffer, and obey such as we deserve. Shall the Subjects both by their Wickedness provoke God for their deserved punishment, to give them an Indiscreet, and Evil Prince, and also Rebel against him, and withal against God, who for the punishment of their Sins did give them such a Prince? I leave Mr. J. to give the Church an Answer to this her Interrogatory, and so proceed to the second thing, which we have for our Security, and that is the *Conscience of the Prince*: For as the Princes Security against the Insurrection of his Subjects consists very much in the Conscience that they have of the Duty, which they owe unto him: So their Security against his tyrannical abuse of his Power consists as much in the sense of that Duty, which he owes unto them. He hath the same Principles within him to check his Passions, that they have to check, and bridle theirs; and hath all the Moral Obligations, and the Fear of God, who hateth Tyrants, to keep him from oppressing them, that they have to keep them from Rebelling against him.

The common Principles of Humanity, Justice, and Equity are engraven by the Finger of God upon the Minds of Kings, as well as upon other Mens; and they cannot do wrong to any particular person, much less to great numbers of their Subjects without
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undergoing the same uneasie Remorse, that other Men do, when they injure one another. This hath been found by sad Experience in *Pagan* Princes, as in *Tiberius* the Emperor, who was so tormented with the sense of his own Sins, that he could not but discover his own Confusion unto the Senate in a

(11) *Quid scribam vobis P. C. aut quomodo scribam, aut quid omnino non scribam hoc tempore, dii me deæq; pejus perdant, quam pereire quotidie sentio, si scio. Adeo facinorosa atq; flagitia sua ipsi quoq; in supplicium verterant neq; frustra præstantissimus sapientie affirmari solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes posse aspici laniatus et ictus, quando, ut corpora verberibus, ita savitia, libidine, malis consultis animus dilaceretur. Quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non solitudines protegebant, quin tormenta pectoris, suasq; ipse penas fateretur. Tacit. An. l. 6. c. 6.*

Remarkable Letter, which began thus: (11) *My Lords, and Gentlemen; If I know what, or how to write, or not to write to you at this time, let all the Gods and Goddeses confound me with a worse Death than by which I feel my self perishing every day.* In such a manner, saith the Historian, did the Gods turn his Wickednesses into his own Punishment, so that what *Socrates* said is very true, That if the Breasts of Tyrants could be laid open, we should see what slashes and gashes they suffer from their own Consciences, and that the Body cannot suffer more from the Whip, than their minds do from the sense of their Tyranny, and Lusts.

And if Conscience be a Restraining Principle in Heathen Princes, if they cannot without such Soul-Torments pervert Justice, and violate their Oaths, and the Laws, it must needs much more be a powerful Principle of Restraint to Christian Kings, who are taught to know that they are Gods Ministers, and

and that he will call them to a severe Account for oppressing his People, over whom he set them; nay, that he most commonly sends remarkable Judgements upon them or their Families for subverting the Laws, and persecuting the True Religion. Shall the Fear of Gods Anger and Judgements more than any other thing keep so many thousand Subjects from injuring their Sovereign, and shall not the Fear of the same God, and his Judgments keep the Sovereign from injuring of them? Or shall the People take warning by the Judgments of God which in all Ages have remarkably fallen upon Rebels, and shall not the Sovereign make as much use of the Remarkable Judgments, which have fallen upon Tyrants? This Principle gives equal Security both ways, and therefore it may well pass for one Answer to the former Question, That our Security consists in the Conscience of the Prince.

But in the third place, As we have the Princes Conscience, so we have his Honour for our Security. For Princes (like other Men) are tender of their Honour, and Good Name, and are powerfully restrained by shame from doing Evil to their Subjects. They are as loath as other Men to be exposed to the censure of Mankind, or be recorded for Tyrants in the Annals of Time. Though they may be desirous for their Honour to have the Times computed from their Conquests, yet the same Principle of Honour, will ordinarily make them ashamed to have them computed from their Massacres, and Persecutions, which will but get them the Sur-name of *the Bloody*, or *the Tyrant* unto the End of the World. Honour, as Moralists observe, is a Secondary, or Civil Conscience, and if so many Sub-

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Subjects will abstain from Rebellion merely to avoid the Odious Character of a Traitor, why should we not presume, That a Prince will abstain from Illegal Violence, especially against a great Number of his People to avoid the Odious Name of Tyrant? How Black do *Pharaoh*, *Achab*, and *Jeroboam* look in the Scriptures, and *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Decius*, *Valerian*, *Maximian*, *Galerius*, *Maximin*, and *Julian*, in the Ecclesiastical Historians? And a Prince that knows any thing of History, must naturally abhor to be reckoned among such, as these, whose very Names are detested by all Mankind.

4. This is all the Security, that most other People have, or ever had for their Rights and Properties against their Princes; but we, the Inhabitants of this Fortunate Island, have (God be praised for it) a further Security from our Laws, to which every Man, be he never so great, is obnoxious, besides the Prince himself. For whosoever acts contrary to Law in this Realm to the prejudice of any other person, must be subject to make Reparation by Law, against which the King himself can protect no Man, as long as the Courts of Justice are kept open; so that there can be no Tyranny in *England*, but the utmost Tyranny, nor any Persecution, but a most Exorbitant and Illegal Persecution, which must presuppose, that Justice is obstructed, the Laws and Lawyers silenced, the Courts of Judicature shut up, and that the King governs altogether by Arbitrary Power and the Sword. But to suppose this, is plainly to suppose the utmost possibility, which is next to an impossibility, a possibility indeed in Theory, but scarce to be reduced into Practice; for in such a Violent Undertaking all Good Men would withdraw from the Service, and Assistance of the King, and the

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Passive Obedience Defended. 273

Bad durst not serve him, because if he died, or repented of his Undertaking, they must be answerable for all the Wrongs and Illegalities they were guilty of in his Service.

Indeed were our Kings Immortal, or would they not (like other Men) grow weary, and repent of their Unjust Practises, then Men, who had no Religion, but their Interest, would willingly be Instruments of their Tyranny; but seeing they may repent, and must die like other Men, no Man that would be safe, will venture to serve them against the Law, no Rational Man will venture into such a Sea of Troubles, where there is no Haven.

This Consideration would help very much to quiet the Minds of Men, would their Fears but let their Reason have its perfect work. It would help them in a great measure to see, that a Popish Successor, notwithstanding all the dismal Characters of him, would not be able, especially on the sudden, to outrage his Protestant Subjects; for as long as the Laws were open he could not hurt them, and to shut them up, and obstruct, or pervert Justice, would for the former Reasons, prove an exceeding difficult, and almost impracticable Undertaking, because all his Good Subjects, and all the Bad too that tendred their own safety, would desert him; nay, *Foreiners* upon this Account would make a difficulty to serve him, because he could not protect them against his own Laws.

Wherefore a Popish Prince, though he were never so Blood-thirsty, and had never so little regard to Humanity, and his Coronation-Oath, would be infinitely puzzled to persecute his Protestant Subjects. He must be supposed to obstruct Justice, and govern Arbitrarily by the Sword; which (as I have shew'd)

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would be almost an Impossibility, because it would be so exceeding difficult for him to get sufficient Numbers of Men to assist him in such a dangerous Attempt. But upon supposition, that he could find Means to maintain such a Tyrannical State, I here assert from what I have written in the Doctors Vindication in the 10th, and 11th Chapters, That we ought as Christian Subjects patiently to endure such a *Contralegal* Persecution, being forbid by the Imperial Laws of this Realm, and by the Gospel, which confirms the Imperial Laws of all Governments to rise up in Arms against the King, or repel his Military Forces, by Military Violence and Force.

Furthermore from this Consideration, that there can be no Illegal Persecution in this Realm while the Law is kept open, It may appear to every Impartial Reader, how maliciously the Author of *Julian* traduced Dr. *Hickes* and his Sermon, as if he had taught the People, That they were to Suffer, when they might be Protected by Laws. There are very many Fallacious Passages in his Book to this purpose, as where he talks of *Throwing away our Lives*, and *Prostituting our Lives*; and where he seems to assert this strongly against the Doctor, *That if a man be illegally assaulted, in the way of Violence, and Assassination, he may use all Lawful Remedies to defend themselves*. But how doth the Doctors Sermon, or the Notion of Passive Obedience any way contradict this? *Contra sicarium quilibet homo est miles*; The Laws of all Governments allow every Man to defend his Life against an Illegal Assassin, and he that doth not so when he can, dies not like a Martyr, but a Fool. He that doth not use all Lawful Means, and Remedies for his own Preservation is mightily to be blamed, as
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Passive Obedience Defended. 275

altogether unworthy of such Protection, as, blessed be God, we enjoy. But the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, as taught in general by the Doctor, is not justly chargeable with any such odious Inferences as Mr. J. makes from it, as only forbidding such Defence, as a man makes against the Laws of his Country, when he draws or uses the Sword against such persons, or in such a manner to defend himself, as the Law hath not permitted him to do. In a word, the Doctrine of Passive Obedience only condemns Illegal Resistance, such Resistance as the Laws of every Sovereign Government forbid, against the King, his Army, or Officers; such Resistance more especially, as is a Transgression of the *Imperial Laws*. Those are the Laws, which require *Passive Obedience*; those are the Laws which the Doctor had a regard to in teaching that Doctrine: And as Christianity doth not devest any People from their Rights and Priviledges, so neither doth it devest the Sovereign of His.

And if the Doctrine of Passive Obedience be not inconsistent with that Defence, which the Law allows every Man to make against an Illegal Assassin, much less is it inconsistent, as he

(†) maliciously asserts, with that Civil Defence, which every man is bound to make for himself before the Magistrate. St. Paul (saith he) was not for *Passive Obedience*; even when the Lawful Magistrate persecuted him, if it were in an Unlawful way, but he stood upon his Birthright.——As he was a Roman; and moreover, That he ought not to be scourged Uncondemned. But what is this Civil pleading to forcible and Military Resistance? What is the Defence, which a Man makes with his Tongue before any Tribunal,

(†) Preface p. 8.

to the Defence which he makes with his Sword in the Field? I appeal to the Conscience of Mr. J. as he will answer it to God, whether he thinks, That the Doctrine of Passive Obedience precludes any man from pleading his Civil Rights, or whether the Doctor would contradict his own Doctrine, if he should plead his Birthright, as an *English* man, or the 29th Chapter of *Magna Charta* before a Popish Prince, or Judge? If he thinks he would not, then why would he shew so little common Honesty, as to fasten such Invidious Consequences, upon that Doctrine, and the Doctor, against his own Conscience, and Belief?

To as little purpose hath he told us the Story of the Pursuivant of the High-Commission-Court, who was sent by the Commissioners, to Arrest the Body of a Man to bring him before them, and in the striving was killed. Whether this was Murder, or not

Murder.

(†) Rep. 12. p. p. 49.

(saith he out of (†) *Coke*) was doubted: And upon conference at the next Assizes, it was resolved, that the Arrest was *Tortious* (i. e. wrongful, or without Lawful Authority) and by consequence, that it was *no Murder*. But then (with his wonted Integrity) he conceals the main Circumstance from the Common Reader, which is implied by *Coke*, and expressed by (||) *Brownlow*,

Homicide or Manslaughter. (||) Rep. 2. part p. 15.

viz. That it was found *Homicide*, or *Manslaughter*, which is a breach of the 6th Commandment, and Murder in the Eyes of God. For there are several degrees of Murder, whereof some are more Grievous than others. There is Murder *Premeditate*, and Murder *Unpremeditate*; murdering of a *Private Man*, and murdering of an *Officer*, as an Officer in the execution of

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of his Office. The *Unpremeditate* Murder of a private Man, or of an Officer not in the Execution of his Office is a less grievous sort of Murder, which our Law calls Manslaughter, but the *Premeditate* Murder of a Private Man, or of an (†) Officer not doing his Office, as also the *Unpremeditate* Murder of an Officer *doing his Office* as being more grievous sorts of Murder, are in our Law especially called Murder, and so the Difference between Manslaughter, and Murder is only Gradual, the Law allowing the benefit of Clergy to that, but not to this. Now the Pursuivant was a proper Officer of the High-Commission, but because that Court could give no Power to arrest any Mans Body, but only to cite him to appear before them as Ecclesiastical Courts do, therefore the killing of their Pursuivant in making the Arrest, was judged Manslaughter, because it was *Unpremeditate*, and he was not doing his Office; but yet the Verdict for Manslaughter lays the Pursuivants Blood not upon his own, but upon his Murderers Head. He that killed him was a Murderer, and was to answer for his Blood to God, without Repentance, and to the King with his own Life, had he not read his Neck Verse. And if Mr. J. think otherwise, as he seems to do, that an *Homicide* is not guilty of the Blood, which he sheds, then before the time of *Henry* the 8th, no killing could be Murder, because till then there was no distinction betwixt Manslaughter and Murder, but all Homicides whatsoever were equal in the Eye of the Law, and all Homicides had equally the Benefit of Clergy.

(†) See Crooks Rep. in Cooks Case, Term Pasch. in Banc. reg. an. 15 Caroli Regis.

I am confident Mr. J. by his learned Conversation with Mr. H. could not but know all this, and if he did, why did he go about to wash the Guilty Man Clean of the Pursuivants Blood, in saying only that the killing of him was *not found Murder*, and *that his Blood was upon his own Head*? But the Reason is apparent, for had he told the Story with that plainness, that it became an Honest Writer; the Guilt of *Man slaughter* would have spoiled the Grace of the Story, as it is told by him to justify Resistance, and the Resistance of a Pursuivant, and of a Pursuivant unto Blood.

These Pursuivants it seems are plaguy Officers, but let them look to't, if any of them come to Arrest the Body of Mr. J. and do it not with all Exactness of Law, at his own peril be it, he knows what to do, and he may safely trust to his Neck Verse, and then the poor mistaken Pursuivants Blood shall be upon his own head.

But suppose the Law gave a Man leave to kill an Officer in a False Arrest, to defend his Liberty, would Mr. J. take the advantage of the Law? Will he do, or omit the doing of every thing that the Law allows him? Will he make the Law the compleat, and adequate Rule to walk by? If so, he may do, or omit the doing of many things, for which he shall be damned. He may abuse his Father, Mother, Sister, Brother, Wife, Children, Neighbours, nay and his Prince too, to a mighty degree, and yet be safe within the Limits of the Law. He may write Seditious Books, burlesque the Doctrine of the Cross, slander the Ancient Christians, falsifie good Authors, and injure those
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that never did him hurt, and yet transgress no Humane Law.

For the Law hath the Civil, and not the Christi, an Capacity of the Man for its Object, therefore it only Commands, or Forbids things, the not doing or doing of which do visibly tend to the destruction of the Peace, Order, and Welfare of the Commonwealth; and he that is so little a Christian, as to teach the People how far they may be troublesome and vexatious to their Superiours without transgressing the Law, doth teach them how to use their Liberty for a Cloak of Maliciousness, and a sure, and easie way to Hell.

But Mr. J. saith, *That any man may see that his Discourse of the Pursuivant doth not descend to such Petty Matters, as False Arrests, though a mans Liberty is not to be despised; To what then did that Story tend? Well, you may know his Meaning by his Mumping, it is to let the People understand, how tender the Laws, are of their Lives, and what a particular Care they have taken of all those, who are put upon an inevitable necessity of defending themselves against the Assaults of Violent, and Evil-disposed Persons.* But the Laws are more tender of our Sovereigns Honour, as he is Gods Minister, than of his Subjects Lives, and therefore have forbid us to defend our selves in private Defence against his Person, or in publick Insurrections against his Forces, though he be never so violent, or evil-disposed, because he is answerable to none, but God. *But if by Inevitable necessity of defending themselves he understands sudden and private defence against an As-*

fallin sent by the Kings Order, as his Malice seems to suggest, then it is nothing to his purpose, because the Kings Law, which is his most Authoritative Command, allows us (as I suppose) that Benefit; and if it do, it doth not in the least contradict the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, which allows a Man to Resist, or use the Sword to defend his Life, when the Laws [*from which I except all Laws Destructive of the Kings Crown, and Regality*] authorize him so to do.

But in truth this last is a Case, which, though Malicious Men may suggest, yet ought not at all to be supposed, or taken into consideration; for a Popish Prince, as I argued before, will either let the Law have its free Course, or else he will obstruct it: If he let the Law have its Free Course, then the most wicked Man will not dare to serve him in Private Assassinations against Law, because he cannot protect them against it; but if he Obstruct it, then he must Govern solely by an Army, and so publick Violence will supersede this private way of Assassination, and many other Cases, which Men do a great deal of hurt to talk of, and suppose.

For as the talking of Spirits, and Goblins do mightily influence the Imaginations of Children, and make them fancy them to be in the Room; So all this Noise of a Popish Successor, and the presuming, and supposing of what Cruelties he will do, makes the People take it for granted not only that his *R. Hs.* is a Real Papist, but that he is *bigotted* into the worst Principles of Popery, into a Bloody Persecuting Humour, so that he will do nothing but *assassinate* his Protestant Subjects, were he once upon the Throne. But whoever thus represent him, as they
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Passive Obedience Defended. 281

act contrary to all Rules of Candour, and Christian Charity : So they contradict the Belief of many, as good Protestants, as themselves, who have the Honour to know Him, and his Temper better than these sort of Men do ; and withal they do Infinite Disservice to the Protestant Religion, whilst they dispose Well-meaning People to such Ill Practises, as (were they agreeable to their Principles) would give his *R. H.* very Just Occasion to entertain as bad Thoughts of Protestant Subjects, as They have of a Popish Prince.

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The CONCLUSION.

HAVING discoursed of the Laws by which *Passive Obedience* is due from the Subjects to the Sovereign, and also shew'd the Reasons, into which those Laws are resolv'd; and having also shewn for the further Satisfaction of the Reader, That notwithstanding the Doctrine of *Non-resistance*, the People of this Nation have all the Security against Tyranny, or Illegal Oppression, that Subjects can, or ought to have: I think, I cannot more profitably entertain the Serious Reader in this last Sheet, than in setting before his Eyes a True Landskip of Persecution, which the Author of *Julian*, and many other Late Writers have partially represented, with a Design to enrage the People, concealing from them one main part, which ought to have been put in the Scene of Persecution, to give them a True, and Just Idea thereof.

They have indeed most accurately painted the *Jails*, and *Fetters*, and *Dungeons*, and *Gibbets*, and *Flames*, and all other Instruments of Torment to provoke them beyond the Measures of Christian Patience, but they have said nothing of *Faith*, *Hope*, and the Love of God, and of the *Special Assistances* which he gives in times of Persecution, because the Consideration of these Things would at the same time have spoiled their Design by quieting the Minds of their Readers, and qualifying their Fears, and letting them see that Persecution really was not so Terrible, and Intolerable, as they represented it to be.

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Wherefore, as they have set forth the Tyranny of Persecution as *Greeks*, I shall now set it forth as a Christian Writer, shewing from the Scriptures, and other Ecclesiastical Acts and Monuments of Persecution, that it is a Condition, which Christians may endure with Comfort, and Satisfaction, nay, in which they may delight, and rejoyce, if they look unto Jesus, the Author, and Finisher of our Faith; who for the Joy, that was set before him endured the Cross, and despised the shame of it, for which he is set down at the Right Hand of God.

When the (†) Apostles were beaten by Order of the *Sanhedrim*, they departed from the presence of the Council rejoycing that they were counted worthy to suffer for his Name: And when (||) *Paul*, and *Silas* had been whipt with many Stripes, (||) Acts 16. and were hurried upon it into the innermost Prison, and set in the Stocks there, they prayed and sang Praises unto God, doubtless for enabling them by the Assistance of his Holy Spirit to preach his word with boldness, and suffer patiently in his Cause. How often doth St. *Paul* in his Epistles glory in his *Infirmities*, which is a Scripture-term for *Sufferings*; and with what pleasure doth he (†) speak (†) 2 Cor. c. 6. c. 11. c. 12. of his Afflictions, Necessities, and Distresses, of his Stripes, Imprisonments, Labours, Tumults, Watchings, Fastings, Shipwrack, and daily danger of Death. Then the Christians suffered after the Example of their Saviour according to the Will of God, who called them unto Suffering, committing their Souls unto him as unto

a Faithful Creator, and for (†) his Sake were killed all the day long, and were accounted as Sheep for the Slaughter; insomuch that in the time of *Trajan*, *Tiberius* the President of *Palastine* gives this Account of their Passive Temper in his (||) Letter to the Emperor; *I am weary with punishing, and destroying the Galileans, who are called here Christians, according to your Majesties Command, and yet they cease not to discover themselves, that they may be slain. I have laboured both by Entreaties, and Menaces to make them conceal themselves from being known to be Christians, but I cannot make them put an End to their own Persecution.*

And when *Arrius*, or *Aurelius Antoninus* Proconsul of *Asia* raised a severe Persecution against the Christians; they presented themselves before him like an Army, at which he being astonished, contented himself to execute some few, and cryed out unto the rest, *O wretched men, if you have a mind to dye, have you not Halsters and Precipices enough, but must you come higher for an Execution?* This Story is told by *Tertullian* to *Scapula* President of *Carthage*, who also tells him, That if he had a mind to go on with the Persecution, so many thousands of Christian Men, and Women of all Ages, and Conditions would offer themselves unto him, that he would be hard put to it to get Fires, and Swords enough to destroy them.

Hitherto, and much longer they were so far from declining Sufferings, or being terrified into Tumultuous Combinations with those Miseries, which they foresaw, that they freely offered themselves to the Fury of their Persecutors, and strove,

strove, as (†) *Sulpitius Severus* observes of the *Dioclesian* Persecution, who should first enter the Lists of those Glorious Conflicts, being more Ambitious of Martyrdom in those days, than in after times of Bishopricks, and the Greatest Preferments of the Church.

(†) Lib. 2. c. 47.

I have chosen these out of many more Instances to shew the *Passive* Temper of the Primitive Christians in Times of Persecution, and to take occasion to enquire into the true Causes, which made them, and our own *Ancestors* after their Example, so meek, and calm, and chearful in such sad Tryals, and so ready to lay down their Lives for Christ. Now in this Enquiry into the Causes of such wonderful Patience, and Alacrity, we ought in the first place to assign a good Life, or a Conscience void of Offence towards God, and towards Man. This is the Cornerstone in the Foundation of True Christian Confidence and Courage against the Fears of Death, for he, whose Heart doth not condemn him hath confidence towards God, and need not fear him, that can kill the Body, but is not able to kill the Soul, because he lived in the Fear of him, who is able to destroy both Body and Soul in Hell. Who is he, that will harm you (saith the Apostle) if ye be followers of that which is good, but if ye suffer for Righteousnesss sake, happy are ye, and be not afraid of their Terrour, neither be troubled. Hence (saith *Justin Martyr*) of *Crescens* the Stoick, who laid wait for his Life, as *Anytus*, and *Melitus* did for that of *Socrates*, *Crescens* may kill me, but he cannot hurt me. And speaking of the Occasion of his Conversion to Christianity, (||) When I saw the Christians (saith he) embrace

(||) Ap. I. p. 50.

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Death, and Torments without fear, I thought with myself, that they could not live in Sin, and sensual Pleasure. For what Epicure, or Incontinent person, that places his Happiness in pleasing the Flesh, would so readily embrace death to deprive himself of his Felicity, but rather strive to live here for ever.

2. The Second Cause of such wonderful Patience and Courage in the Confessors, and Martyrs of the Christian Religion, was Faith, or their full and undoubted Perswasion of receiving those great Rewards, which the Gospel promised them for Suffering according to that Definition of the Apostle, which saith, That Faith consists in the Substance, or Confidence of things hoped for, and in the Evidence of things not seen. It was through this Faith, that the Jewish, and Primitive Christian Martyrs were tortured, not accepting of Deliverance, that they might have a better Resurrection, *i. e.* the Resurrection of the Just; that others of them had tryal of cruel Mockings, and Scourgings, yea moreover of Bonds, and Imprisonments, and that others also were Stoned, Sawen asunder, Empaled, and slain with the Sword; and lastly, That others, who took the allowed Benefit of Flight, wandered about in Sheepskins, and Goatskins, and in Deserts, and Mountains, and in Dens, and Caves of the Earth. It was this Faith, which the Apostle compares to a Shield, and by which (he saith) the Just did live in times of Persecution, and overcame the World, according to St. John, who saith, This is the Victory, that overcometh the World, even our Faith. Hence saith the Apostle to the Hebrews, Cast not away your Confidence which hath great Recompence of Reward; in the full perswasion of receiving whereof, he also said in his

2d. Epist. to *Timothy*, I have fought a good Fight, I have finished my Course, I have kept the Faith, Henceforth there is laid up for me a Crown of Righteousness, which the Lord will give me at that day. And for this cause (saith he) we faint not, for though our Outward Man Perisheth, yet the Inward Man is renewed day by day, for our light Affliction, which is but for a Moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of Glory, while we look not at the things that are seen, but at the things which are not seen, for the things, which are seen are Temporal, but the things, which are not seen are Eternal.

From these places it is plain, that the Faith of the Primitive Christians was one main Cause of their Courage, which the Pagan A-

theist (†) *Lucian* had learnt of (†) De Mort. Peregr. them, as appears from these L. 2. p. 763.

words; *The Miserable Wretches*

(saith he) persuade those of their own Party, that they shall surely be Immortal, and live for ever, upon which account they despise Death, and offer themselves voluntarily to it. And in *Minutius Felix*, *Cecilianus* objects it against the Christians as a piece of Arrogance, *Quod Cælo & Stellis interitum denunciant, sibi tamen ipsis aternitatem repromittunt*; That they denounced Destruction to Heaven and the Stars, but assured themselves of Eternal Life. And again, *They despise Torments, that are present, and yet fear those, that are Future, and Uncertain; and while they fear to dye after death, in the mean time they are not afraid to dye.* It was a great Truth which the Ignorant Pagan objected; For in this Assurance of Faith, they let themselves be led like Sheep to the Slaughter, quietly suffering all the Extremities

tremities of Death and Torments, which Men, or Devils could bring upon them without desiring to hurt, or seeking to revenge themselves upon those that Injured them, as *Justin Mart.* often observes in his (||) Dialogue with *Trypho the Jew*. The Foresight and Joy of their Heavenly Reward made them endure the Cross, and despise the Shame of it, because they knew, that if they Suffered with him, they should also Reign with him.

The (†) 40 Christian Souldiers, in the time of *Licinius*, which were starved to death in a Pond of Water in Cold Frosty Weather, comforted one another, as they stood together by Ballancing their Present Sufferings, with their Future Hopes. *Is the Weather Sharp (said they) Paradise is Comfortable, and Delightful. Is the Frost Cold and Bitter? the rest that remains is Sweet, and Pleasant. Let us but hold out a Little, and Abrahams Bosom will Refresh us; We shall change this One Night for an Eternal Age of Happiness. And, Blessed be God saith Bishop Ridley, in his Letter to Master Bradford) with all our evil Reports, Grudgings, and Restraints; we are Merry in God, of whom we look, and hope after these Temporal and Momentary Miseries, to have Eternal Joy and Perpetual Felicity, through Jesus Christ our Lord,*

3. The Third Principle, into which the Meek, and Passive Behaviour of former Christians is to be resolved, is the Love of God by which Faith (†) worketh, or is actuated to do or suffer any thing for the Sake of Christ. So saith the Apostle, *Rom. 8. 35. Who shall separate*

(†) Gal. 5, 6. 1 Thef. 5, 8.

Passive Obedience Defended. 289

us from the Love of Christ, shall Tribulation, or Distress, or Persecution, or Famine, or Nakedness, or Peril, or Sword, (as it is written, for thy sake are we killed all the day long, we are counted, as Sheep for the Slaughter) nay in all these things we are more than Conquerors through him, that loved us; for I am persuaded, that neither [Fear of] Death, nor [Hope of] Life, nor Angels of Satan, nor Princes, nor Potentates, nor Sufferings Present, nor Sufferings to come, nor Heights of Preferment, nor Depth of Disgrace shall be able to separate us from the Love of God, which is in Jesus Christ our Lord. So saith St. John most excellently to the same purpose, 1 Ep. 4. ' We have known, and believed the Love, that God hath unto us, for God is Love, and he that dwelleth in the Love of God, dwelleth in God, and God in him. ' Herein consists the Consumation, or Perfection of our Love, that we have (*παρρησίαν*) Boldness, or Courage to Confess Christ (*ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως*) in the day of Tryal, for there is no Fear in Love, but perfect Love casteth out Fear, because Fear is attended with Torment, and Anxiety, so that he, that feareth Dangers, or Death, is not arrived to the Perfection of Love.

This great Love of Christ which enables us to suffer for him, is founded, as the same Apostle teacheth upon the consideration of his Love in dying for us, We love him (saith he) i. e. we ought to love him, because he first loved us. And God commendeth his Love towards us (saith St. Paul) in that while we were yet Sinners, Christ died for us. After the Apostles themselves there never was a greater Example of this flagrant Love of Christ, than the Holy Martyr *Ignatius* St. John's Disciple and Bishop of *Antioch*, who, though he rejoiced heartily

S. Ignatius.

heartily in the little Respit the Christians enjoyed from Persecution in the time of *Nerva* upon the

(†) *Dubitavit enim apud seipsum, &c.* Martyr. S. Ignat. p. 2.

Churches account, yet he (†) doubted with himself, *Whether he had arrived to the perfect Love of God, and was a compleat Disciple of Christ, because as yet he had not*

called him to Martyrdom. And therefore shortly after, when *Trajan* the Emperor commanded the Souldiers to bind him in Chains, and carry him bound to *Rome* to be devoured in the Amphitheater,

(||) *Ib.* p. 4.

he (||) received the Sentence with Joy, and said, *O Lord, I thank thee that thou hast made me*

perfect in thy Love, and made me worthy with thy Apostle St. Paul to be bound in Iron-Chains. According-

(†) *Euseb. I. 3. c. 36.*

(||) *Ex ed. Usser. vel Vossian.*

ly in his (†) Journey to *Rome*, and in his (||) Epistle which he sent thither before his Arrival, he breathed nothing but the Perfection of Divine Love. *O,*

saith he, that I might come to those Wild Beasts, which are prepared for me, I will encourage them to devour me, if they are afraid to touch me, as they have been to touch others; nay, I will provoke them, if they will not set upon me. You must pardon me, I know what is for my Advantage; I am now indeed Christs Disciple; I am afraid of your Love, lest it be a Hindrance to me, but let me be devoured by the Beasts. It is better for me to dye for Jesus Christ, than to be Emperor of all the World. Let Fire, and the Cross, and the Wild Beasts, let Dissections of my Flesh, pulling in Pieces, and breaking of Bones, let Distortion of Members, and Bruising the whole Body, and all the Torments, which the Devil can invent come upon me, so that I Enjoy
The

Passive Obedience Defended. 291

The Fourth Reason into which the Meek, and Passive Temper of the Former Christians is to be resolved, is *Inspired Patience, and Courage*, whereby God enabled them to bear their Torments in such a Generous and Gallant Manner, as without such Assistance they could not have done. You (saith Octavius in *Minutius Felix*) extol men of Passive Courage unto the Skies, as Mutius Scævola, who had died obscurely among his Enemies but for the Gallantry of his Right Hand; but how many of ours have suffered not only the burning of their Hands, but of their whole Bodies without a Shreek, when they might have been set free. But I need not compare our men with Mutius, Aquilius, and Regulus, our very Women and Children by (†) *Inspired Patience*

despise the Cross, the Rack, and the Wild Beasts, and all manner of of Terrible Punishments. To the same purpose speaks (||) *Lactantius*; When the People see men torn into Pieces with such variety of Torments, and tire out their Executioners with unconquerable Patience, they guess what the real truth is, that the Consent and Perseverance of so many dying Persons is not in vain, nor that any Patience, unless it were from God, could overcome such great Torments. Robbers, and men of robust Bodies cannot endure such Tortures without shrieking, and sighing, because they have not Inspired Patience, but our Women and Children conquer their Torturers, nor can the Fire so much as make them Sigh.

This is most exactly agreeable to what is taught in the Gospel, as in 1 John 4. 4. You are of God (saith the Apostle) and have overcome them, because

(†) *Inspirata patientia illudunt.*

(||) L. 5. c. 13. *Ne ipsam patientiam sine Deo cruciatus tantos posse superare. — Quia deest illis inspirata patientia.*

stronger is he, that is in you, than he, that is in the World. This I take to be the true meaning

(†) Ad Smyrn.

St. Ignatius, Ἐγγὺς μάχης εἰς θεῶν, μετὰ τοῦ θανάτου, μετὰ τοῦ θανάτου. *He that is near unto the Sword is near unto God, and he that is among the Wild Beasts, is in the midst of God.*

(||) Ep. 10. Ed. Oxon.

So saith St. (||) Cyprian to the Martyrs and Confessors, That Christ Fights, and Conquers in his Servants, That he is present at their Conflicts, and upholds, strengthens, and supports them. This made St. Paul, speaking of his Sufferings, say, I can do all things through Christ, who strengthneth me. And when all Men forsook him, at his first Hearing he said, That the Lord stood with him, and strengthened him, 2 Tim. 4. 16. So in Coloss. 1. 11. He prays, That they might be strengthened with all might according to his Glorious Power unto all Patience, and Long-sufferance with Joyfulness. And in his Epistle to the Philippians saith he, To you it is given in the behalf of Christ not only to Believe, but Suffer for his sake.

— Accordingly I find our Glorious Predecessors and Martyrs in Queen Maries Days making most grateful acknowledgment of the Divine Courage, and Assistance which they received from Christ. 'Jesus Christ (saith Bishop Ridley to the Dispersed Brethren) hath given unto you a Manly Courage, and hath so strengthened you in the Inner Man by the Power of his Spirit, that you can contemn all the Flatteries of the World. And so in his Answer to Mr. Grindall, 'As the Weight of his Cross hath increased upon us, so he hath not, nor doth not cease to multiply his Mercies to strengthen us. And to Mr. Bradford; Blessed be God, who is the Giver of
all

‘all Strength and Stomach in time of Adversity. And in another Letter to him, ‘The Spirit bringeth in him [Dr. Taylor] in you and in your Company such ‘blessed Fruits of Boldness, of Patience, and Constancy in the Lords Cause. In another ———

‘Thanksgiving unto God for his manifold Gifts of ‘Grace, whereby it is manifest that God did assist ‘you mightily. And in his Letter to Aug. Bernher.

‘I trust to God it shall please him of his Goodness to ‘strengthen me to make up the

‘(†) Trinity out of Pauls Church (†) Rogers, and Grindall were the other two, ‘to suffer for Christ. So Bishop Hooper to certain of his beloved

Friends; ‘In the Name, and in the Strength, and ‘Vertue, and Power of his Holy Spirit, prepare your ‘selves in any case to Adversity, and Constancy.

Much more to this purpose may be collected out of the Book of Martyrs and the Martyrs Letters, to shew how Powerful, and Visibly Christ assists all those, whom he calls to Sufferings, as St. Peter most emphatically sets it out in those words, *If ye are reproached for the Name of Christ, Happy are ye, for the Spirit of Glory and of God resteth upon you*; implying,

That the Spirit of God rested upon Martyrs, and Confessors, as the *Glory* used to do upon the Temple, so that it might be seen by all the People, according to what *Eusebius* saith of the Martyrs in the *Dioclesian* Persecution, *Then* (saith he) *we beheld the most admirable Forwardness, and*

(||) Divine Power, and Alacrity of those, who professed Christ. (||) θεῖαν τε ὡς ἀληθῆς δύναμιν, καὶ περ θυμῶν — 1.8.c.3.

Hence he ordinarily ascribes their Courage, and Boldness, and Patience, and Constancy to Divine Inspiration, as in the Martyrdom of *Apphianus*, of

whom he speaks, as of a Champion assisted with the (†) Spirit of God, and acted by a Divine Power, without which it is impossible to solve, or give any satisfactory Account of the Gallantry of many of our English Martyrs in the time of Henry the Eighth, and Queen

(†) Ζήλῳ θεοσεβείας, καὶ πνεύματι ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων — αὐτὸν περὶ γένους ἐνθῆν. Δυσάμειος. De Mart. Pal. c. 4.

Mary, who were as Valiant Souldiers of Christ, as ever suffered for his Holy Name. How could *Nicholas Peke*, for Example, defie those who tempted him to Recant while he was burning in the Fire, unless he had been specially assisted by God. How could Dr. *Taylor* have leaped, and danced for Joy when he drew near the Place of Execution, and kissed the Stake after he had Pray'd, unless God had inspired him with Courage. Or how could Archbishop *Cranmer*, without the special Assistance of God, endure the burning of his Right Hand, which he held immoveable in the Flame, before his Body was touched: Or, which is yet more wonderful, how could *Rose Allen* a poor Maid-Servant, without the wonderful Grace of God, endure the burning of her hand until the Sinews shrank, without the least Complaint, thanking God for it, and bidding the Tyrant who held her hand over the Candle, if he pleased, to burn her Feet, and her Head also. Afterwards this English *Blandina* sang for Joy at her Execution: And in general so wonderful was the Courage, and Patience of our martyred Ancestors, that the Papists ascribed it to the Devil, as *Julian* the Apostate did that of the Primitive Christians to Evil Spirits, thereby confessing that it was Supernatural, and above the ordinary Strength of Man.

And

And to this Divine Grace of *Inspired Courage, and*
Patience, I may also add the wonderful work of
 God, in rebating, or taking away the Sense of Pain
 from his Holy Martyrs in the time of their Execu-
 tion, according to what (||) *Eusebius* writes, who speaking of
 the Courage with which *Roma-*
nus the Martyr bore the cutting
 out of his Tongue; He declared
 (saith he) by his Behaviour, that
 there is always a Divine Power

(||) De Mart. Palest.
 c. 2. θεία δύναμις ε-
 πιλαφείζουσα τὸς πό-
 νους, καὶ τὴν περὶ θυμὸν
 ἐπὶ ῥῶννυσιν παρίστα-
 ται.

Romanus.

present with those, who suffer Torments for the True Re-
 ligion, which lessens their Pains, and strengthens their
 Courage. And so in the Mar-
 tyrdom of (†) *Blandina* he tells

(†) Ec. Hist. l. 5. c. 1.
 Ἀνάληψις, καὶ ἀνά-
 παυσις καὶ ἀναλγησία
 τῶν συμβαινόντων.

Blandina.

us she was plied with a Successi-
 on of fresh Torturers, and Tor-
 tures from Morning to Night,
 to the Astonishment of her Tormenters, till her
 whole Body was shattered, and mangled into pieces,
 and during the time of her Execution she enjoyed
 sensible Intermittions of Refreshment, in which she
 was not sensible of what was done unto her; and
 this hapned as often as she repeated the words of
 Confession, *I am a Christian, and there is no Evil*
done among us.

So when (||) *Theodorus* was
 tortured from morning til night
 by fresh Tormenters, at the com-
 mand of *Julian*, he declared to those, who asked
 him if he were Sensible of what was done unto him,
 That in the beginning he felt a little pain, but af-
 terwards a Beautiful Youth appeared to him, who
 stood by him, and with a soft, and cool Handker-
 chief, wiped the Sweat off his Face, which is de-

(||) Theodor. l. 3. c. 16.

Theodorus.

lighted him, that he wished he had still continued under the hands of the Executioners.

(†) Foxes Acts and Monuments, An 1555. p. 1711.

terwards to *James Hinfie*, That his Spirit was so wrapt up, while his Hand was burning, that he felt no Pain. And Mr. *Farrar*,

(||) Id. p. 1724.

Death he was to suffer, that if he saw him once stir in the Flames he should give no credit to his Doctrine; and as he foretold (*doubtless by Divine Impulse*) so he patiently stood in the Fire, till he was knocked down with a Staff.

(†) Id. p. 1767.

Thus likewise (†) *Thomas Haukes*, who had promised to give his Friends a Sign in the midst of the Fire, if the pains of burning were so tolerable that a man might patiently, and quietly endure them; after a long and patient continuance in the Flames, when his Skin was shrunk up, and his Fingers consumed with Fire, at last he reached up his Hands burning on a light Fire, and with great appearance of Rejoycing, clapped them thrice together. So

(||) Id. p. 1172.

(||) *James Baynham*, while he was burning at the Stake, and his Arms and Legs half consumed, he said, Behold, O ye Papiſts, ye look for Miracles, and here now you may ſee one, for in this Fire I feel no more pain, than if I were in a Bed of Down, but it is to me as Sweet as a Bed of Roſes. We read of others, who ſang Pſalms in the Flames, as of Mr. *John Denly*,

ly, at whom *Sory* commanded the Tormenter to throw a Fagot, which when he had done, he told him scoffingly, that he had marred a good old Song. And of *Thomas Spicer*, *John Denny*, and *Edmond Pool*, who praised God with such an Audible Voice in the Fire, as astonished those that stood by.

Now all these things, as the Apostle saith, hapned unto them for our Example, and were written for our Consolation, if ever we should be called to suffer, as they were. We cannot likely meet with more Cruel usage from the merciless Papists, than they found at their hands; and if we do, we shall be sure (if we be not wanting to our selves) to receive the same Gracious Aids, and Assistances from God in all our Spiritual Combats, that they, and the Primitive Christians did. There can no Tryal, or Temptation take us, but such as is common to Christian Men, and hath hapned to them before us, and God is still Faithful, and will not suffer us at any time to be tempted beyond what we can endure, but will certainly with the Temptation (be it never so great) find out a way for us that we may be able to bear it. And if God be for us, as the Apostle speaks, who can be against us? And if he spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not together with him also truly give us All these things? Mr. *J.* may laugh and scoff at this Passive Divinity as he pleaseth, but for my own part, I am so fully perswaded, that God will Inspire me with Supernatural Patience, and Courage, if he call me to suffer for him, that the Dismal Scene which his, and other Unchristian Pencils have drawn of a Popish Persecution, do not affright or discompose me, because I set the mighty

Ad-

Advantages of a Good Conscience, a strong Faith in the promised Reward for Suffering, a Zealous Love for God, and lastly, of his special Aids, Assistances, and Consolations against all the Difficulties, and Torments with which alone they have painted Persecution; and so tempering the terrible Appearance of the One, with the comfortable, and delightful Prospect of the Other, I am no more concerned for a Popish Persecution, than for other common Calamities, which happen to Good Men: Nor shall the Fear of it (by Gods Grace) ever transport me beyond the Bounds of Christian Decency, and Moderation; much less make me write such a wicked Book as the *Life of Julian*, which indeed would make me afraid to dye even for my Religion, before I had renounced it, and begg'd the Pardon of God, and Man.

The Author of it had spent his time far better, and more like a Primitive Christian, and a Minister of the Passive Church of *England*, if he had employed his Parts in writing a Book upon the Principles, which I have here laid down, to allay the Fears, and quiet the Minds of the Fearful, and Impatient Multitude, by shewing of them, That Persecution was not so Black as Sense would paint it, nor so Terrible as it looked at a Distance, especially to a People, that had lived long in Ease, Pleasure, and Plenty, but that God would assuredly give us Suffering Spirits, if he called us to Suffering Times; and thereupon to exhort them to possess their Souls in Patience, and endeavour to prevent it by constant and hearty Prayer to God, and forsaking those sinful Courses, for which perhaps the eye of Infinite Wisdom sees, that Persecution will be the most Effectual Cure.

This

This is the Design, that I have had in drawing this new and compleat Landskip of Persecution, and I am so well satisfied with the truth and certainty of these things, ~~that~~ I have added to Mr. J's Pourtraiture of it, That if it please God to suffer a Popish Prince to Reign over us, rather than he should prove a Julian indeed to Undermine our Religion by Crafty Arts, and tempt us out of it by Worldly Honours and Rewards, I heartily wish for the Churches good that he may rather prove a Maximin, or Dioclesian (I mean a down right Bloody persecutor) though I were the Proto-Martyr of the Cause. I speak this not relying on my own Strength, but on the Gracious Assistance of God, in whom I trust, that he will Inspire me with the boldness of a Confessor, and the Patience, Courage, and Constancy of a Martyr, whensoever he shall please to call me to *Confess* his Truths, and suffer for his Holy Name.

which

In the meantime, let the Event of things be what it will, I shall wait the good Pleasure of God, and carefully endeavour (as my ~~Safety~~ obligeth me) to prepare my self for Persecution, according to the Principles which I have here laid down, and the Godly Admonition of that Famous Martyr Mr. John Bradford, which he wrote in the New Testament of one of his Friends.

Duty

This Book is called Sermo Crucis, the Word of the Cross, because the Cross doth always accompany it: So that if you will be a Student hereof, you must needs prepare your self for the Cross, which you began to learn, before you learned your Alphabet: And Christ requireth it of every one, that will be his Disciple, therein not
swer-

swerbing from the common Trade of Callings, and Vocations; for no Profession, or kind of Life wanteth his Cross. So that they are far overseen, which think, that the Profession of the Gospel, which the Devil most Envieth, the World most hateth, and the Flesh most Repineth at, can be without a Cross: Let us therefore pray, That God ~~would~~ enable us to take up our Cross by denying our selves: Amen.

E Carcere 18 Fe]
bruarii 1555.

JOHN BRADFORD.



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